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FROM JUSTINIAN TO LUTHER

FROM JUSTINIAN TO LUTHER

A.D. 518–1517

BY

LEIGHTON PULLAN, D.D.

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PREFACE

THE purpose of these lectures is to exhibit some pictures of the growth of Christendom, both ecclesiastical and civil, during the Middle Ages. They are neither strictly theological nor apologetic, but they necessarily touch upon many questions of theology, and they are written with the belief that the communion of saints is a great reality. To some readers their omissions may appear to be culpable and their repetitions to be irksome. But I hope that others will consider that the method which I have adopted makes each lecture more intelligible than it might otherwise have proved to be.

I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness for the help given me by the Rev. F. E. Brightman, Fellow of Magdalen College, Mr. W. C. Costin, Fellow of St. John's College, Dom André Wilmart, O.S.B., and my brother Mr. P. D. Pullan.

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I

JUSTINIAN, ST. GREGORY, MUḤAMMAD

THE Emperor Justinian (483–565) marks an epoch in the history of the Empire and the Church. He was a nephew of the Macedonian peasant Justin, who became commander-in-chief of the imperial guard and in 518 was placed upon the imperial throne. The uncle needed the help of his well-educated and capable nephew, and Justinian really governed in the name of Justin until he succeeded him in 527. And he ruled so well that he has been fitly called 'the last great Roman emperor'. Constantinople was torn with factions and distressed with religious schisms, but remained the centre of a unique art and a far-spreading civilization. Justinian determined to make it the undisputed heiress of ancient Rome and supreme over the barbarous kingdoms of the West. His abilities were hardly inferior to his ambitions, and his industry was so unceasing that a contemporary called him 'the Emperor that never sleeps'.

The Empire was beset by enemies on every side, but with the aid of two singularly capable generals, Belisarius and Narses, Justinian was able to rehabilitate imperial authority in the West. In 533 Belisarius crushed the Vandal kingdom in North Africa. Barely ten years later the south-east of Spain was wrested from the Visigoths, and in 553 Narses broke the resistance of the Ostrogoths in central Italy. The Mediterranean was nearly a Roman sea once more. Unfortunately these successes in the West were gained at the expense of grave difficulties in the East. The power of the Persians became a serious menace under the leadership of King Khusrau (Chosroes) Nushirvan, who pillaged Antioch in 540, and Justinian had not only to sign truces, but finally, in 562, had to make a treaty undertaking to pay tribute to the 'Great King'. On the whole, however, Justinian established his Empire firmly and proudly in the midst of vassal tribes from Armenia and Thebes to Venice and Tangiers. He effected the reform and consolidation of Roman law, infusing into it a more Christian spirit; he reorganized the administration of justice; and he built roads, aqueducts, and hundreds of fortresses to defend the frontiers.

With heathenism he dealt severely. It was now the religion of the 'pagani', the village folk of the remoter districts, but often cherished in secret by others, even among the best educated classes. At Athens, in particular, Platonism still survived, though it was of an eclectic kind, absorbing Christian morality and popular magic. The Athenian school closed in 529, and the professors went to breathe a freer atmosphere at the court of Persia. Here they learned what paganism was when unabashed, and they returned to Europe in disgust. For the more ignorant heathen people of Asia Minor Justinian found a most capable missionary in the person of a monk of Amida, John, who won the title of 'John of Asia'. He founded a monastery in an abandoned pagan temple near Tralles, and induced thousands of peasants to break their idols, cut down their sacred trees, and receive Christian baptism. Though a cultivated speaker and writer, he fanatically aided the Emperor's policy of suppressing heresy, and he boasted that he had set fire to Montanist temples and thrown into the flames the bones of the false prophets of the second century, Montanus, Priscilla, and Maximilla. He was really a Monophysite, but the Government would not permit any converts to Christianity to learn anything which contradicted orthodoxy. And in fact to keep the balance between orthodoxy and Monophysitism was the great problem which beset the Emperor in his ecclesiastical policy.

Without some knowledge of that problem it is as impossible to understand the history of the sixth century as it is impossible to understand the history of the sixteenth century without a knowledge of Catholicism, Lutheranism, and Calvinism.

Eastern Christianity in the time of Justinian was divided into three great sections, the Orthodox Catholic, the Nestorian, and the Monophysite. All three sections worshipped Jesus Christ as an essentially divine Person. But they were divided with regard to His human nature. The Orthodox held that He was perfectly human as well as perfectly divine. They formed the largest body of the Christians who spoke Greek, and they had the support of Rome. The Nestorians followed the doctrine of Nestorius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, who was excommunicated by the Council of Ephesus in 431. They insisted upon the complete humanity of Christ in such a way as to threaten the reality of

His Deity. The Monophysites followed in the steps of the Abbot Eutyches, who was excommunicated at the Council of Chalcedon in 451, and they taught the antithesis of Nestorianism. Relying upon some ambiguous words of St. Cyril, the great opponent of Nestorius, they held that the humanity of Christ was changed by or changed into His Deity, so as to become in some degree non-human. Nestorianism drew most of its supporters from the Syrians and Persians, Monophysitism was popular in Egypt, Syria, and Armenia. It was advocated by two opposing but singularly dexterous writers, Severus and Julian of Halicarnassus. Severus held that the flesh of Christ was capable of corruption until the Resurrection. Julian held that His flesh throughout His life was incorruptible. The opponents of Julian's view nicknamed it 'Aphthartodocetism', the doctrine of an incorruptible illusion. All the above views were held with passionate conviction, and advocated not only with self-sacrificing zeal, but also with ingenuity and learning.

Now, Justinian was an ardent theologian, and he saw, like Constantine, that if the Empire was to be one, the Church of the Empire must be one. And if his predominance over the West was to be secure, the religion of the Church must be the orthodox religion of the Pope. So a reunion was quickly effected between East and West, and in 519 a schism which had lasted thirty-five years was healed. Pope Hormisdas sent legates to Constantinople with a carefully prepared formulary in which Nestorius, Eutyches, and all their partisans were anathematized, and the apostolic See was declared to have always preserved the faith inviolate. The patriarch signed the document, and the names of the erring Monophysite Emperors, Zeno and Anastasius, were erased from the diptychs, or tablets from which were recited the names of persons to be prayed for in the liturgy. On becoming Emperor, in 527, Justinian acted as the tutor of the Church. He not only protected it, he instructed it by edicts sent to the five patriarchs, the Patriarch of Rome being inevitably brought within the sphere of his influence. In the East the patriarchs, like modern English bishops, were elected by the Church, but not until they had been nominated by the Government. At Rome the Pope was elected by the Romans, but their choice had to be ratified by the Emperor. And on the whole the

patriarchs were chosen wisely and were often worthy of their high calling. Under a beneficent 'Caesaropapism' the Church was strengthened within the Empire and spread beyond it. But the Monophysites were strong, especially in Egypt, which supplied a large amount of the corn required for the Empire; and the Monophysites had a friend in the Empress Theodora.

Theodora, like her husband, was of humble origin. Her father was a bear-keeper in the hippodrome, and she was an impudent adventuress before she became an irreproachable consort with a zeal for the good morals of the capital. She encouraged and guided her husband by her firmness and outwitted him with tactful cunning. Less Roman in her outlook than Justinian, both her policy and her religion prompted her to make concessions to the dissenters. The Emperor wished to maintain the position that the theology of St. Cyril, so much applauded by the Monophysites, was compatible with the theology of the orthodox Council of Chalcedon. But his efforts to secure peace on that reasonable basis were consistently thwarted. The Monophysites were obstinate and smuggled into the liturgy the statement that God 'was crucified for us', an ambiguous phrase of heretical origin. After much discussion Justinian, in 533, sanctioned an orthodox modification of it to the effect that 'one of the Trinity suffered in the flesh'. Having gained this qualified success, Theodora proceeded to secure the patriarchal throne for the Monophysite bishop Anthemius. He was exposed by Pope Agapetus and soon deposed. Monophysite books were burnt, and in 543 an imperial edict and the canons of a synod condemned the teaching and person of the great Alexandrine theologian Origen (d. 254), some of whose works were interpreted as favouring Monophysitism.

Two Origenist bishops then persuaded Justinian that the easiest way to pacify the Monophysites would be to censure three other dead theologians, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret, and Ibas, who were all regarded as tainted with Nestorianism.

The Emperor fell into the trap, and in 544 issued an edict which contained three paragraphs, afterwards known as the Three Chapters,[1] concerning (i) Theodore's person and doctrine;

[1] This phrase came to mean, not the chapters or articles themselves, but the opinions condemned in them.

(ii) certain books of Theodoret; (iii) a letter of Ibas to Maris. These and all who defended them were to be anathematized. On the whole the East was content to do so, but a strong opposition was manifested in the West, where such a condemnation was regarded as a reflection on the orthodoxy of the Council of Chalcedon. Pope Vigilius, though he owed his throne to Theodora, protested and came in 547 to Constantinople, where he renewed his protest. Soon, however, he veered round and published his *Judicatum* condemning the aforesaid writings. The West was very angry, and an African council excommunicated him. He changed again and boldly defied the Emperor. The result was that he had to flee for refuge, first to the basilica of St. Peter 'in Hormisda', and then to a church at Chalcedon.

In the meantime Justinian made energetic preparation for the Fifth Oecumenical Council, the second of Constantinople, which met in May 553. Vigilius refused to attend, and immediately sent to the Emperor a memorandum, *Constitutum*, in which he refused to condemn the *persons* of the erring theologians. The Council, however, condemned not only their writings but also the person of Theodore, while to some extent softening this condemnation by confirming the acts of the Council of Chalcedon. The Pope was apparently exiled for six months, after which he definitely accepted the decision of the Council. He died in Sicily on his way home. The result of his surrender was that several dioceses in the West remained separated from Rome, some of them for more than a hundred years.

So far from reconciling the Monophysites, Justinian's action aggravated the schismatic and separatist tendencies of Egypt and Syria. And, in spite of this imprudent aggravation, he himself before his death seems to have adopted the Monophysite theory that the body of Christ, though *de facto* corruptible and capable of weakness, because He willed it, was *de jure* incorruptible and impassible.[1] Justinian became an Aphthartodocetist, and wrote an edict in support of his views to the patriarchs. The patriarchs and bishops, however, showed that their docility was not un-

[1] See L. Duchesne, *L'Église au VI ème siècle*, p. 270 (De Boccard, Paris, 1925); J. Tixeront, *Histoire des Dogmes*, vol. iii, p. 116 (Gabalda, Paris, 1912). The theory that Justinian did not lapse into heresy has been ably defended, but appears to me to be rather less probable than the contrary view.

limited and in all directions voiced their disapproval; but before Justinian could visit them with his full displeasure he had been summoned to another world.

Though Platonism was banned if it was combined with the worship of the gods of Greece, the later Platonism survived in a Christian form. It was fitted into a logical scheme of Christian theology and Eastern fantasy by a gifted writer who lived about 500, and is known by the fictitious name of Dionysius the Areopagite, the disciple of St. Paul. He taught that to live truly is to be united with God, and that the purifying life which flows through love from this transcendent, yet immanent, Being draws God's manifold creation to himself. Divine love is an eternal circle, from goodness, through goodness, and to goodness. Between the Triune God and the world are ranged the three triads of the celestial hierarchy. Of these the highest consists of Seraphim, Cherubim, and Thrones. They reflect the brightness of God to the second three, who reflect it to the third, who more especially minister to mankind. Under this third celestial hierarchy is the earthly hierarchy of the Church, through which the light comes to men through the mysteries. All worship is treated as a celebration of mysteries. What the Triune Deity is to the celestial hierarchy, Christ incarnate is to the terrestrial. Through Him the union of God and man is effected. This is the most distinctively Christian element in the system, and it is described in a manner which was acceptable to both the Orthodox and the Monophysites. The influence of the writings of 'Dionysius' was profound on East and West, on theology and poetry alike. It can be seen in Dante and in St. Thomas Aquinas, and many others who have found within their souls a 'light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world'.

What the works of 'Dionysius' were for mystic theology, the church of St. Sophia was for art and worship. After a long series of experiments and a gradual assimilation of Oriental elements from Asia and Egypt, Byzantine art in the time of Justinian produced buildings which show a wonderful originality and an equally wonderful mastery of technical difficulties. The finest of these buildings is the cathedral church of Constantinople,

now a mosque. It has been imitated, but never equalled. The long nave recalls the basilicas of an earlier date. But it is crowned by a huge dome inserted between a half-dome at the east and another at the west. The construction of the great dome is such that the four piers which support it are hardly seen, and, as an ancient writer says, it seems not so much to rest upon masonry as to be suspended from heaven. Adorned with the rarest marbles and brilliant mosaics, St. Sophia's justified the boast of its imperial founder that he had vanquished Solomon. The architects were Anthemius of Tralles and Isidore of Miletus.

St. Gregory the Great (540–604) admirably represents the Western Christianity which in the sixth century was clearly conscious of its own distinctive life. Legend threw its halo round the Pope, whose missionary zeal was kindled when he saw the angel-faced Angle boys exposed for sale by a Jew in the Roman market-place. It was said that he invented the solemn and pathetic 'Roman chant', and in the later Middle Ages artists delighted to paint the 'Mass of St. Gregory' at which our Lord appears in visible flesh at the altar. He remains a great man and a real saint without any need of these and other fables. Born of a very wealthy and ancient family, he became about 573 prefect of the city of Rome, the highest layman in the city. Very soon afterwards he exchanged his glittering silken robes for the rough dress of a monk, and turned into a monastery his palace on the Caelian Hill. After three or four years as a happy monk he was ordained 'seventh deacon' of the Roman Church, and in 579 he was sent by Pope Pelagius II as apocrisiarius or nuncio to Constantinople. While there he learned no Greek, but he learned that the Eastern Empire, in spite of Justinian's great ambitions, was unable or unwilling to protect Italy from her invaders. He consoled himself by composing lectures on the Book of Job, lectures which blossomed into his *Moralia*, a work which remained for centuries a standard textbook of theology.

Gregory, on his return to Rome in 586, became abbot of his monastery, and in 590 was elected Pope, greatly to his own sorrow. His high ideal of a bishop's duty is shown to us in his

famous treatise the *Book of Pastoral Rule*, which gained a position not inferior to that of the writings of St. Augustine. It is remarkable for the great emphasis which it lays upon preaching, and the necessity of appealing in different ways to different classes of hearers. Like St. Basil, he was a man of very feeble health, his digestion having been impaired by his excessive fasting and a vegetarian diet. But very few men have been able to bear so heavy a load of responsibility on their shoulders. In dealing with the Lombards, most of whom were still Arian, it was Gregory, and not the civil exarch, who represented Rome and its power of resistance. Patriot and peacemaker, he had, as he lay on his death-bed, the satisfaction of trusting that he had saved the Eternal City from becoming the residence of a barbarous Lombard duke, and he knew that peace had not been won at the cost of honour.[1] He was a first-rate landlord of the vast papal estates, building up the temporal as well as the spiritual power of the Papacy, and was as lavish in his charities as he was austere in his own manner of life. A monk among monks, he enforced a strict observance of wholesome discipline in the monasteries under his authority, and he forbade priests to cohabit with their wives, a prohibition which the Council of Nicaea had refused to make.

Near the close of 593 he published his *Dialogues*, a collection of edifying and even entertaining stories, showing that God is on the side of His Catholic worshippers. The miracles which are recorded show that Gregory in all good faith was ready to believe a good deal that was neither probable nor proved. But the stories form a very valuable series of illustrations of the social and religious life of the period. His letters, of which eight hundred and eighty still remain, testify to his immense activity and influence. He possessed all the skill of a Roman diplomat, and his praises of the bloodstained tyrant Phocas, and his flattering correspondence with Brunhild, the great Frankish queen who abjured Arianism, are difficult to excuse unless they were written in ignorance. Adulation was one of the faults of the

[1] A crown which belonged to Agilulf, King of the Lombards, and was said to have been given him by St. Gregory, was in the treasury of Monza Cathedral until 1796, when it was removed to Paris, and subsequently stolen. A jewelled cross which used to hang from the crown is still at Monza.

intellectual people of his age. But Gregory rose above his age when he protested against the persecution of the Jews and wrote 'conversions wrought by force are never sincere'. As Pope he engaged in two notable controversies. The first was with the Emperor Maurice, who in an edict of 593 forbade any functionary or soldier to enter the clerical or the monastic order. Gregory was indignant; but, after a discussion which lasted for quite four years, it was agreed that no official should be received into a monastery until he was released from all obligations to the State, and no soldier without inquiry into his previous life and a novitiate of three years' duration.

Gregory's second controversy was with the ascetic and ambitious Patriarch of Constantinople, John the Faster. The patriarch used to describe himself by the title of Oecumenical or Universal Patriarch, a title which, if it meant anything at all, might mean that all the Empire was under his spiritual authority, or that he was the first bishop in it. Orientals appear to have regarded the title as a mere flower of speech, but Gregory scented danger, and protested with eloquence and vigour. Like St. Augustine and St. Leo, he used to describe himself as 'servus servorum Dei', a title which in the ninth century became used exclusively by popes. The sincerity of his protest is proved by the fact that when the Patriarch of Alexandria addressed him as 'Universal Pope' and alluded to his 'commands', Gregory absolutely repudiated the title and said, 'In position you are my brother, in character my father. I gave, therefore, no commands, but only endeavoured to point out what I thought was desirable.' The Roman patriarchate included the 'suburbicarian' provinces, that is, roughly, all Italy south of Ancona, and with it the Italian islands. The bishops of these regions were ordained at Rome, though elected at home: in other sees the Pope had nothing to do with the election of new bishops, except at Ravenna, where the metropolitan was regarded as his suffragan. In the sixth century the great sees of Milan and Aquileia were for years outside the communion of the Church of Rome. But Gregory kept his eyes upon the whole Church. He regarded the 'Apostolic See', the See of Rome, as possessing an authority which extended over the whole of Christendom, an authority which left to every bishop his own jurisdiction while ensuring that he

did not exceed it. He claimed a real primacy, but it was very far from that claimed by modern popes, who maintain that every Christian is under their immediate jurisdiction.

St. Gregory's theological teaching was based partly upon a careful study of St. Augustine, and partly upon conceptions of angelology, demonology, and purgatory which hitherto had been popular but undefined. He was not an original thinker; but he was a great teacher, who consolidated the Western Catholicism of his time, shaping it by his own earnest and straightforward spirit.

His missionary zeal was as fruitful as his doctrine. He made strenuous efforts to uproot paganism in all directions, to banish Arianism from Spain, Donatism from Africa, and Manichaeism from Sicily. He wrote to Domitian, Bishop of Melitene and Metropolitan of Lesser Armenia, who had vainly endeavoured to convert the Persian king, Chosroes. He tried to console that able prelate by suggesting that, in spite of his failure, he would gain a reward, for 'the Ethiopian comes out of the bath as black as he went in, yet the bathman gets his pay'. It had been Gregory's desire before he became Pope to undertake in person the conversion of Britain. This was in some degree facilitated by his friendly relations with the Franks and the fact that Ethelbert, King of Kent, had married a Christian princess. But Gregory's elevation to the papal chair made it impossible to carry out his original plan, and so he chose for the great task his friend, the prior of his own monastery on the Caelian Hill, Augustine. The slave boys whom he had bought in the market-place were not yet sufficiently trained to go back to England. But a group of monks was ready to accompany Augustine in the spring of 596, and together they left Rome by the Ostian Gate and started for the island, which the Saxon invaders had reduced to a wilderness. Arrived in Provence, the monks were terrified at the tales of Saxon ferocity which were poured into their ears, and they made Augustine return to Rome in order to procure their recall. Gregory, as might have been expected, sent Augustine back with a letter of affectionate encouragement to the wavering missionaries, and a batch of epistles directed to the royal and ecclesiastical personages who might be expected to help the travellers on their way through Gaul to Britain.

The beginning of the conversion of the English must be reckoned as one of the great achievements of St. Gregory. And to the English people it should be a source of perennial satisfaction that he was a real leader, teacher, and shepherd of souls.

Great as was the influence of St. Gregory, it was not so great as that of his younger contemporary Muḥammad. In him the Judaized Christianity, which had dogged the footsteps of St. Paul and had long appeared to be dormant and almost dead, became incarnate, and has to this day remained the most potent enemy of the Gospel. Some of the lesser doctrines of Islam are of Persian origin and some practices are derived from old Arabian heathenism. But the system as a whole can be traced to the Jews and to the Ebionite sects which combined a crude Judaism with the belief that Jesus is the Messiah. Muḥammad praises 'the Gospel'; but it is more than doubtful whether he ever possessed or read a copy. And Muslims who are confronted with his expressions of reverence for the Gospel usually say that since his time the Christians have corrupted their own sacred books.

Muḥammad, 'the praised one', was born about 570, and first appears in history as a prosperous middle-aged tradesman of Mecca in Arabia. The country was then mainly pagan, but Jewish sects, both orthodox and unorthodox, were to be found there, and Christianity was not unknown. The pagans worshipped fetish idols and went on pilgrimages to the shrine of Allah, the principal deity of Mecca. The government of the pagans was as a rule of a tribal character. Civilization was of a very rudimentary character, but writing in the Arabic script had begun about the time of the prophet's birth, and Mecca was an important trading centre. With genuine enthusiasm Muḥammad set himself the threefold task of a reform which was theological, social, and moral. His hope was to exterminate idolatry, to replace the tribal system by an orderly government which would put an end to wars and assassinations, and to stop infanticide and, apparently, certain forms of sexual promiscuity. He was assisted by his wife Khadija, who was fifteen years his senior, and to the last retained such an influence over him that one of his younger wives said that she was jealous of no one but 'the toothless old woman'.

During the first three years of his missionary activity he made a few converts, but the Meccans had no desire to be under an inspired dictator; and as it was against their scruple to shed human blood in Mecca, they resolved to starve him to death. With masterly skill Muḥammad secured the sympathy of the pagans and the Jews of Medina, and the Meccans learnt too late that he held in his hands the city which could kill their commerce. His flight (*hijra*) to Medina was on the Jewish Day of Atonement, September the 20th, 622.

Once at Medina he either converted or crushed the pagans. He failed to convert the Jews, who were fully aware of his gross ignorance of the Jewish 'Law' which he pretended to honour. But as the Jewish tribes would not co-operate in opposing him, he dealt with them separately, and the last tribe he massacred to a man. He then sowed dissension among the Arab tribes with such success that he was able to enter Mecca in triumph. Shortly before this happened, he became fully convinced that his religious mission should be extended to the world, and is said to have sent letters to all the monarchs whose names he knew bidding them to embrace Islam, the religion of 'Surrender'. These missions were effective in South Arabia, but at Mutah, in the Byzantine Empire, they led to the first conflict between the Christians and the Muslims, a conflict which soon cost the Christian Empire a heavy price.

Muḥammad died June the 7th, 632, calling God to witness that he had delivered his message. No man was ever a more complete summary of the good and evil energies of his own nation. He was no vulgar impostor. He began his career as a reformer, and he was a genius from first to last. But his character steadily degenerated from the time when he became the despot of Medina and determined to acquire political power. His treatment of the Jews was treacherous and cruel, and his lasciviousness led him to actions which he could only excuse on the ground of special revelations. But he was a man born to command and to organize, skilful in selecting subordinates, and able to retain their confidence. And he impressed upon multitudes the belief that God is one God and that all Muslims are really equal. It is this twofold belief that gives Islam its present power.

The success of Islam was almost inconceivably rapid. When the prophet died all Arabia had accepted it. By the middle of the century Syria and Palestine, Egypt and Persia, had succumbed, and before its close North Africa, the home of St. Cyprian and St. Augustine, echoed with the creed 'There is no God but God and Muḥammad is the apostle of God'.

The doctrine of Islam, i.e. the religion of surrender to God, is contained in his book the Koran (Qur'ān) which is regarded as the absolutely infallible words of God, and in the Ḥadîth 'narrations', or traditions of the words and actions of the prophet. Many of these traditions are comparatively late and some are obviously derived from Christian sources.

God is one in a strictly Unitarian sense. The doctrine of the Trinity is repudiated; but the Christian Trinity is supposed to consist of God, Jesus, and Mary. Mary the mother of our Lord is confused with Miriam the sister of Moses. The Holy Spirit is mentioned, but is identified with the angel Gabriel.

God has communicated with man not only by inspired writing but also by warning messengers. At one time Muḥammad believed in seven, of whom three were Arabs, and the remaining four Noah, Lot, Abraham (sent to Nimrod!), and Moses. Later he adopts the Aramaic word *Nabi*, prophet, for such messengers, and includes among them Adam, David, and Elijah. Greater than all former messengers was Jesus. In exalting Him, Muḥammad was able to exalt himself by representing Jesus as having prophesied his coming. Jesus was born of a virgin, was sinless, the Word of God, the Messiah, 'a spirit from God', worked miracles, and was taken up to heaven. It is passionately denied that He is the Son of God, though the word which Muḥammad uses for 'Son' is quite distinct from the word used in Christian Arabic, and signifies one physically begotten. His death upon the cross is also denied. Following the opinion of the Docetic Ebionites, it is taught that another figure was miraculously substituted for Jesus and crucified in His stead.

There will be a last judgement; heaven and hell await mankind. Heaven is a place of sensual pleasure, and little or nothing in Muḥammad's own description of it indicates anything else. A nobler view was taught by some later Muslim theologians,

while some of the traditions develop the baser features of Muḥammad's paradise.

A Muslim may have only four wives, though the prophet himself was permitted by special 'revelations' to marry more. The number of lawful concubines has no limit. This degrading view of womanhood and Muḥammad's gross example have proved the running sore of Islam, and done far more evil than the good effected in hot countries by the prohibition of pork and wine. Circumcision is maintained, as it was by the Ebionites.

Great importance is attached to almsgiving, and every Muslim must pray five times a day towards Mecca. Originally prayers were made towards Jerusalem, the sabbath was kept, and a fast day similar to the Jewish Day of Atonement. But when the prophet definitely separated from the Jews, he directed that his followers should pray towards Mecca and keep Friday as the day of meeting for worship. In imitation of the Christian Lent, he appointed that the thirty days of the month Ramaḍān should be kept as fast days. The Muslim may neither eat nor drink between sunrise and sunset in that month, but after sunset he may feast. The result is that the poor working classes suffer, while the rich can rest by day and revel by night. To fight against non-Muslims when called upon to do so by the proper authority is regarded as a peculiarly meritorious action.

A pilgrimage to Mecca is incumbent upon all who have the means to undertake it, and it is an institution which has a great effect in consolidating the different Muslim races. The important Shi'ah sect has substituted pilgrimages to the shrines of saints for pilgrimages to Mecca. And as early as A.D. 691 the Khalif 'Abd al-Malik built at Jerusalem the splendid mosque known as the Dome of the Rock, hoping for political reasons that pilgrims would be satisfied with visiting it instead of going to Mecca. He also intended that it should surpass in beauty the church of the Resurrection over the grave of Christ, a church which the followers of Muḥammad, in their hatred of the Christian faith, nicknamed 'the Church of the Dunghill'.

Western Christendom was gradually able to subdue the Germanic invaders and lead them to Christ. But Eastern Christendom, distracted by controversies, could not stem the great tide of Arab fanaticism and ferocity.

II

ROMAN AND CELTIC CHRISTIANITY

IT was in the days of Constantine and Athanasius that ancient Britain was most Roman, cultivated, and prosperous. But even in the fourth century the Picts and the Irish were ravaging Britain, and early in the next century the Roman Empire left Britain to her fate. After 410 connexion with Rome was at an end and many of the Britons migrated to Gaul, where they gave the name of Britannia to Armorica and planted the language which has survived until to-day. Soon other and more terrible enemies came to Britain. The Saxons and the Angles came not to plunder only, but to settle. Canterbury and London were destroyed, and the invaders steadily pressed westward. In the the last quarter of the sixth century Bath, Cirencester, and Gloucester were taken. Silchester was evacuated, Wroxeter was stormed. The Romano-British tradition was lost. Many Latin words continued to be used by the conquered Britons, words which remain in Welsh disguised so much as to escape the eyes of every one who is not a trained philologist; but of actual history we know very little. Gildas, a well-educated priest who wrote about 540, has recorded some details of the persecution of Diocletian and knows of the coming of the English about 450. But he is walking in a land of shadows. And although he seems to have been contemporary with the Celtic hero Arthur, who was to become a king of legendary romance, he tells us nothing about the hero or his prowess. The history of England and of the Church in England does not become clear and intelligible until a real link was again forged to join the country with Rome. That link was forged by Gregory the Great.

The best-known figure of the fifth century in our islands is St. Patrick, a Briton who became the foremost apostle of Ireland. There were Christians in Ireland before his time, and Prosper tells us that in 431 'Palladius, consecrated by Pope Celestine, is sent to the Scots[1] believing in Christ as their first bishop'. The

[1] *ad Scottos*. The word 'Scotti' then, and for centuries afterwards, meant 'Irish'.

work of Palladius was abruptly ended by death. Patrick, whose Celtic name was *Su-cat* ('strong in war') was born at 'Bannauenta', possibly Daventry,[1] and was the son of Calpurnius, a deacon, the son of Potitus, a presbyter. When sixteen years of age he was carried off by a band of Irish raiders. After a bondage of six years he escaped to the coast and boarded a ship which was engaged in the export of Irish wolf-dogs. Landing in Gaul, he made his way to the famous monastery of Lérins, and then to Auxerre, where he was ordained deacon by Bishop Amator. He was later consecrated bishop by Germanus, probably not until the death of Palladius. He returned to Ireland, reaching the coast of Wicklow, and defied heathen sentiment by lighting his Paschal fire within sight of Tara, before the king's own pagan fire was lighted at that sacred spot. After a great success at Tara, won in spite of the Druids, he overthrew a famous idol called *Cenn Cruaich*, in what is now county Cavan. He is said to have visited Connaught, but his work is more closely identified with the north of Ireland. He went to Rome and obtained the approval of St. Leo, than which nothing was more likely to further his own influence. This approval was ratified by the gift of precious relics of St. Peter and St. Paul. Not long after his visit to Rome he founded the church of Armagh, establishing it as the primatial church of Ireland. He died in 461 and was probably buried quietly at Saul, though in the twelfth century St. Malachy of Armagh informed his friend St. Bernard that the relics of the saint were at Armagh. An iron hand-bell of great antiquity, now preserved in the National Museum at Dublin, is called Patrick's by a tradition which is not improbable.

It is a remarkable fact that although Patrick was a man of work and not of letters, he is the earliest Irish writer of whom we can say that writings ascribed to him are really his. We possess in Irish the 'Breastplate' or 'Cry of the Deer', and in Latin his 'Confession' and a letter against Coroticus. The first is a rough hymn: legend says that the saint made it on his way to visit King Laoghaire at Tara, and that the assassins who had been posted by the king to kill Patrick thought that the chant was the sound of a herd of deer passing by, and thus the saint escaped. The 'Confession' is a kind of *Apologia pro vita sua*,

[1] Or one of three places called Banwen, in Glamorgan.

written in barbarous Latin to describe his career and defend himself against detraction. The letter against Coroticus was caused by the sanguinary raid in which the soldiers of Coroticus, a British king of Strathclyde, killed a number of Christian neophytes on the day of their baptism and carried off others into slavery. The saint, who admits his rusticity, could write with force and indignation. He was a man of one book, and that book was the Bible; and in his consciousness that God had dealt wonderfully with him he is at one with St. Paul and St. Augustine.

The beginnings of Christianity in Scotland date back to Romano-British times. Its oldest monuments are certain carved stones at Kirkmadrine, in Wigtonshire, which have survived all the storms which have swept over Britain from the fifth century to the present day. They are far older than the work of St. Columba, and are in a region where St. Ninian or Nynias laboured about the time of the withdrawal of the Roman troops from Britain. He was himself a Briton and trained in Rome. He planted the centre of his missions at what is now the little town of Whithorn, and his church there gave its name of 'Candida Casa' to the bishopric. It is probable that Ninian went to the north of Scotland and laboured in the valley of the Ness. If he did not himself preach to the northern Picts, the Gospel was brought to them by his immediate disciples.[1]

St. Kentigern (otherwise Mungo, 'my dear one') was the apostle of the Britons of Strathclyde. He became the hero of many fantastic tales, but with the help of Welsh documents the outlines of his life are made plain. He laboured near Glasgow, but being opposed by a pagan king, Morken, fled to St. David at Menevia, and founded a monastery at Llanelwy (St. Asaph). In 573 the battle of Arderydd gave victory to the Christian Britons and he went back to Glasgow. Soon after 584 he met St. Columba, and the two venerable servants of God exchanged their pastoral staves in token of their mutual regard. He died in 603.

With St. Columba we pass from a cloudy dawn into bright

[1] See William Mackay, *Saints associated with the Valley of the Ness*, 'Northern Chronicle' Office, Inverness, 1914.

sunlight. He was born in 521 at Gartan in Donegal, was the son of a chief, was baptized and became the pupil of St. Finian. After his ordination he and three of his fellow students lived a religious life at Glasnevin. He built his first church at Derry in 545 and founded many others. In 563 he crossed to the west of Scotland and received a grant of the island known to us as Iona. It is most likely that this banishment to Scotland was a voluntary penance for his action in stirring up a war in Ireland. Iona lay on the geographical border-line between the Scots and the Picts, and the conversion of the Picts became a definite part of his work. He was the very type of Irish character. He was passionate, 'fragile as glass', says an ancient writer. He had a fair face and large grey eyes, a voice 'sweet with more than the sweetness of the bards'. He was deeply loved by his monks, and himself loved all things that God made, as is shown by his kindness to a tired heron that fell upon the beach, and to the old horse that he caressed on the last evening of his life. Coarsely clad and devoting much time to prayer and manual labour, he allowed his community to eat fish, eggs, and the flesh of seals, not enforcing too rigorous an abstinence, and he practised a generous hospitality. His work spread far and wide in the west and north of Scotland, and he ruled many important churches in Ireland. He governed with absolute authority in his monastery, free from episcopal jurisdiction. But he was only in priest's orders, and employed bishops to ordain, treating them with veneration as members of a superior order. Blessed in his life, he was happy in his death, which came on June the 9th, 597. He was happy also in the fact that his biography was written by Adamnan, who had conversed with persons acquainted with Columba, and whose work is of such value and interest as to immortalize both the author and his subject.

Late in the spring of 597 St. Augustine landed in the isle of Thanet on the coast of Kent. A few days later St. Columba died in the isle of Iona. We can well imagine the dignified Roman missionary coming, not altogether unbefriended or unexpected, with forty monks, preceded by a cross and a picture of 'the Lord the Saviour', chanting a litany as they moved in procession to meet Ethelbert, the King of Kent. And we can also imagine the

Irish abbot, dying with a smile before the altar of his church, surrounded by the devoted monks who hurried to him in the dark night with the lanterns which they had just lighted to help them sing Mattins. Both men deserved success. More than any others they founded the Christian religion of Great Britain.

Ethelbert's wife, Bertha, was daughter of the Frankish king of Paris, and a Christian. She and her chaplain had used for worship the church of St. Martin, outside Canterbury, which had survived in a ruined state from Roman times. And it was probably in this church that Ethelbert, quickly converted to the faith by Augustine, was baptized on Whitsunday 597. He did not compel his subjects to follow his example; but that example, reinforced by the self-denying labours of the missionaries, bore rapid fruit. The Pope soon held that it was time for Augustine to be consecrated Bishop of the English, so Augustine crossed the channel and was consecrated at Arles. Returning to England, he founded the monastery of Christchurch on the site of a Roman basilica and of the present cathedral. And beyond the walls of Canterbury he built another monastery dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, the two patron saints of Rome. It was probably the first Benedictine monastery founded outside Italy. Possibly he intended to separate the life of a cathedral from the more purely missionary monastic centre. And by these two foundations he made Canterbury a permanent stronghold of Christian life and civilization. He found it necessary to direct several questions to Gregory which show his anxiety to deal with new and perplexing circumstances. Among the replies sent by Gregory is the famous maxim that things were not to be loved for the sake of places, but places for the sake of good things, and that what was good in any local custom might be brought into the Church of the English. He permits Augustine alone by himself to consecrate a bishop in case of need. He is to exercise no authority in Gaul, but 'all the bishops of the Britains' are to be under his care. These replies were conveyed by Mellitus, Paulinus, and other new missionaries, who brought also for Augustine a pallium, the narrow scarf signifying jurisdiction delegated by the Pope to a metropolitan. Augustine was further directed to consecrate twelve bishops to be under his

jurisdiction as Bishop of London; and for the city of York a bishop was also to be ordained, who, as the Church extended, was to be over twelve other bishops.

Ethelbert was not only the leading monarch over all England south of the Humber; the East Saxons were indirectly but really under his control. Their king Saebert was his nephew and reigned in dependence on Ethelbert. Augustine, in 604, shortly before his death, consecrated Mellitus as bishop and sent him to preach to the East Saxons. They accepted his message, and then Ethelbert built in London a cathedral church dedicated to St. Paul, so that Mellitus might have his see in a town of importance frequented by traders from abroad. Augustine also consecrated Justus as bishop for the people of western Kent, the see being placed at Rochester. Here the church was dedicated to St. Andrew in memory of the missionaries' old home in the centre of Latin Christendom.

Augustine died on May the 26th, 604 or 605, and was buried outside the unfinished church of St. Peter and St. Paul until it should be ready to cover his relics. Some of the questions which he directed to Gregory are questions which would only have been asked by a man unduly troubled by details of ceremonial purity; and his summary treatment of the British bishops, which must now be described, indicates a lack of Christian courtesy and meekness. But he was always brave, laborious, and sincere, and often prudent. And we can truly say of Augustine what Bede says of Gregory, 'If he be not an apostle unto others, yet he is unto us, for the seal of his apostleship are we in the Lord'.

Augustine's relations with the British bishops and Church were less happy than his relations with the English. Helped by Ethelbert, he crossed the country of the West Saxons and met the bishops at a place called Augustine's Oak in the time of Bede, usually identified with Aust near the Severn. He urged upon them the need of Catholic unity and the duty of joining in the task of preaching the Gospel to the English. No decision was reached, for both sides were unyielding as to certain points of difference. No divergence in doctrine appears to have separated the Celtic Christians from the Roman missionaries,

but the disciplinary differences were acute. The principal were three in number.

First, in calculating the date of Easter, the Celts, following what had been the rule at Rome about 300, celebrated the feast on a Sunday between March the 25th and April the 21st, and on a day from the *fourteenth* to the twentieth day of the lunar month inclusive. The Romans celebrated the feast on a Sunday between March the 22nd and April the 25th, and on a day from the *fifteenth* to the twenty-first of the lunar month. The Celtic custom was peculiarly offensive to the Romans because it permitted Easter to coincide with the Jewish Passover on the 14th of Nisan, a thing forbidden by the great Council of Nicaea.

Secondly, the tonsure of the Celtic priests differed from the Roman tonsure. At an early period the clergy wore their hair short in order not to appear effeminate. Later, the Romans shaved the whole head, and St. Patrick was shaved in this fashion. This tonsure was called that of St. Paul (Acts xviii. 18). Then the Romans of the time of St. Gregory had a circle shaved on the top of the head, so as to leave a complete crown or garland of natural hair, the hair being left rather longer at the back. This was known as the tonsure of St. Peter. But the Celtic clergy were so shaved that their hair remained long at the back and formed a fringe or semicircle on the front half of their head from ear to ear, a tonsure nearly the same as that worn by the Celtic laity. This was denounced by the Romans as the tonsure of Simon Magus, who was represented in legends as opposing St. Peter in the Eternal City.

Thirdly, the Celts had some peculiarities of their own in administering baptism. Their character remains a problem. It is clear that the Celtic rite did not involve any repudiation of the doctrine of the Trinity, for we have no trace of any accusation being based upon such a heresy. The most reasonable theory is that the Celts administered baptism without confirmation, whether confirmation by a bishop or by a presbyter who used oil consecrated by a bishop. This would explain why Augustine demanded that the Britons should 'complete' baptism.

At a second meeting of Augustine with the Britons seven British bishops were present. According to a well-known story

told by Bede, they first consulted a holy anchorite as to whether they ought at the preaching of Augustine to abandon their own traditions. He replied that they ought to do so if he were a man of God, and that he would be a man of God if he were humble. They asked how they were to know whether he was humble. The reply was that if Augustine rose to meet them, he would show himself to be a servant of Christ. If he did not rise but despised them, 'let him also be despised by you'. And Augustine remained seated. Otherwise he was not unconciliatory. He only insisted on three points, the celebration of Easter at the same time as the Church elsewhere, the 'completing of Baptism', and a joint preaching of the word of the Lord to the English nation. The Britons flatly refused and said that they would not regard him as archbishop. The Church of the Britons and the Church of the English were thus separated. It was the Gaelic and not the Cymric monks who threw themselves into the work of preaching Christ among the English of Northumbria and elsewhere. The intense British dislike of the English and the English Church was of course connected with bitter recollections of the English conquest; and their antipathy to Augustine was strengthened by their veneration for their own saints such as Illtud, David, and Samson. After Augustine's death friendly attempts were made by his successor Laurentius to win over both the Irish and the Welsh, though an Irish (Scot) bishop who came to England refused to eat in the same house with him. His efforts met with no visible result. It was not until 755 that Elvod, Bishop of Bangor, induced the people of North Wales to accept the Roman Easter, and some years later the people of South Wales followed. In Cornwall there was some dissent as late as the time of Eadulf, the first (English) bishop of Crediton (909–931).

The Irish Gaels were less persistent than the Celts of Wales and Cornwall. The north of Ireland yielded to the influence of Adamnan (d. 704), the saintly abbot of Iona who, having candidly examined the subject, came to the conclusion that the Roman reckoning was correct. A few years after his death most of the monks of Iona followed his example.

As to the nature of the episcopate among the Celts of this period,

much remains somewhat obscure. But the ascertained facts do not point to such a wide divergence between the Celts and other Christian nationalities in this respect as has often been supposed. Among those facts is, first, the influence of the clan or tribal system in determining the boundaries of a bishopric, and, secondly, the limitation of episcopal authority by powerful monasteries which came to possess large estates of their own.

St. Gregory gave authority to St. Augustine over 'all the bishops of the Britains'. It is more than probable that the British bishops had been under no such metropolitan or archbishop, and that ecclesiastical 'provinces', including several bishops, were unknown. Gildas knows of none. The title *archiepiscopus* in Latin is not applied to the bishop of Menevia until it is so used by Asser *c.* 893. But it is likely that St. David, Abbot and Bishop of Menevia, did in the sixth century exercise an influence which anticipated the rather vague primacy that was claimed in turn by other Welsh sees, first at Caerleon and finally at St. David's. With regard to Ireland it is practically certain that Armagh would not have gained its early prestige if St. Patrick had not exercised from Armagh, and intended his successors to exercise, an authority similar to that of metropolitans on the Continent. All Ireland was one province. And any early Irish bishop who bore the title of *primescop* or principal bishop was not a metropolitan, but the chief bishop over a clan, the other bishops belonging to a class which must now be briefly described.

In all Celtic lands the monastic foundations were essential to the spiritual structure of the Church. The prevalence in Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany of the word *llan* or *lan*, which signified a monastery before it signified a church building, still testifies to the ancient prevalence of monasticism. The monks served the needs of the surrounding country; they included a staff of priests, and the abbot was often a bishop. Even in Cornwall monastery bishops seemed to have survived after part of the country had become settled by Saxons. But in Ireland the great increase of monasteries led to a multiplication of bishops, each important new monastery desiring to have a private prelate of its own. The confusion became more confounded by the Danish invasions; numbers of bishops had no sees, and became bishops

errant, and sometimes erring. There are traces of the same abuse in Gaul. In fact the large number and the comparative insignificance of bishops among the Celts is not a survival of a primitive Christian practice, but a perversion of it. It was not until the twelfth century that Gillebert, Bishop of Limerick, and St. Malachy of Armagh, the friend of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, began to put an end to the chaotic condition of the Church of Ireland, and the boundaries of provinces and dioceses were carefully defined. And it was not until that period that the pallium was worn by the metropolitans of Ireland.

One of the most important and interesting features of Celtic Christianity was the Irish apostolate on the continent of Europe. It began with St. Columban, a contemporary of St. Augustine.

St. Columban (543–615) was born in Leinster and studied assiduously at the monastery of Bangor in Down. He appears to have learned Greek, and even Hebrew, as well as Latin. Longing to be a missionary, he started with twelve companions to preach the Gospel in Gaul and made his home in Burgundy. He founded successively monasteries at Anegray, Luxeuil, and Fontaine. His name is especially associated with Luxeuil, the site being that of a deserted Gallo-Roman town where he found the images of the heathen gods still standing amid the ruins and the thickets. Here he composed his famous and rigid monastic rule in two parts, one for the solitary ascetics and the other for those who led the 'common life'. Zealously attracting the people to 'the medicines of penitence', he made private confessions become more frequent, and drew up penitential rules for that purpose. For a time he enjoyed the friendship of Theodoric II, King of Burgundy, and nearly persuaded him to lead a virtuous life. But when the king's grandmother, the formidable Brunhild, pointedly asked him to bless the king's illegitimate children, she met with a rebuff more peremptory than polite, and resolved to take revenge. He had previously had trouble with the Frankish bishops on account of his observance of the Celtic Easter. They intended to pass judgement on him at a Council held in 602. He had written letters to Pope Gregory defending his custom, and, as he was then in favour at the royal court, the matter was dropped. Now, however, Brunhild

stirred up the bishops to find fault with his monastic rule, and the king forced him to leave Burgundy.

Among the faithful companions of St. Columban was St. Gall. Together they went to Switzerland and preached at Arbon and Bregenz. St. Gall took especial pleasure in burning heathen temples and throwing idols into convenient lakes, but his combined fearlessness and knowledge of the language of the country helped him to escape the doom which he had courted. Columban determined to go to Italy; but Gall stayed in Switzerland, where he made a cell and lived in retirement. Over that cell there was built in the eighth century a prodigious monastery and church of Saint Gall, a church replaced in the eighteenth century by the gorgeous rococo building designed by Peter Thumb.

Columban, with the remainder of his flock, descended the Alps and found rest for his feet, and soon also for his soul, at Bobbio, in a valley of the Apennines. Here are still preserved the dust of his bones, his knife, and other relics. Bobbio continued for some time to be frequently visited by Celtic pilgrims, and in modern times is always associated in the minds of students with the famous Missal of Bobbio, a priceless liturgical treasure of Gallican character with traces of Irish influence. A signal indication of the spirit of the early inmates of Bobbio is to be found in the fact that they not only, like other Irish monks, claimed exemption from episcopal control, but were the first to obtain from the Pope a licence for such exemption. The monastery was placed directly under the Pope, a privilege of grave omen for the future history of the Church.

It is in Northumbria that we best observe the activity of Celtic and of Anglo-Roman missions side by side. Early in the seventh century Edwin, King of Northumbria, was the most powerful man in the country since the departure of the Romans. The King of the West Saxons hated him and sent men with a poisoned dagger to kill him. The dagger passed through the body of a faithful attendant and Edwin's life was saved. It was an Easter Eve at the royal palace near Aldby, and that night Edwin's Kentish wife safely bore her first child, a daughter. Deeply moved, Edwin promised Paulinus, the bishop who had accom-

panied the queen to her new home, that he would become a Christian if he conquered the West Saxons. He conquered and returned. He no longer worshipped idols, but he hesitated to receive baptism. Pope Boniface V wrote to him, but still he hesitated. Then he called a council and asked each magnate in turn what he thought of the new religion. First a heathen priest, Coifi, gave a cynical reply. Then a layman began to speak of the mystery of human life and added the famous simile, 'The king and his captains are sitting at supper on a dark winter's day; rain or snow are without, a bright fire is in their midst. Suddenly a little bird flies in, a sparrow, in at one door and then out at another. It passes out of the winter into the winter and vanishes from your sight. So is the life of man. As to what follows it or what went before it we know absolutely nothing. If the new religion will tell us anything of these mysteries, the before and the after, it is the religion that is wanted.' Then Coifi begged that Paulinus might be heard. And Paulinus, who had known how to wait, then had his opportunity, and he spoke with such effect that Coifi was the first to destroy the shrines at which he had led the worship of his heathen tribesmen. Edwin and many of his people were baptized, and York became a cathedral city.

The new converts were soon exposed to a cruel test. Mercia, the middle kingdom in England, was under King Penda, a champion of the old gods. Hemmed in by Christian states, he resolved to break the powers that were closing round him, and went forth to war. He defeated and killed Edwin at the battle of Hatfield in 633, and Christianity was reduced to such straits that Paulinus returned to Kent. Man's necessity proved to be God's opportunity, and the desertion of his flock by Paulinus made the way plainer for a mission which accomplished more than had been done by the Roman missions in the south of England. St. Oswald came to the throne of Northumbria in 634. Like Alfred at a later time, he presents to us almost an ideal of royal sanctity. Seeking to restore the fallen Church, he applied not to Rome or to Kent, but to the monastery of Iona, the isle of saints. The learning of the Irish-Scottish monks of Iona was united with fervent missionary zeal, and that zeal was seen at its best in the bishop who came to the island of Lindisfarne near to Oswald's royal castle of Bamborough.

St. Aidan (d. 651) and some of his companions seem to have possessed exactly those qualities which were undeveloped in the character of St. Augustine. They were very simple, homely, and gentle, as well as rigorous in their self-denial. The result was a personal influence over others which was deep and lasting. Their external methods also differed from the methods of the Roman missionaries. The Celtic monks were recluses from whom kings sought direction in spiritual matters: the Roman monks moved in royal courts. The former built small rude churches or worshipped in caves near the sound of the sea. The latter built stately basilicas that recalled the splendour of the Italian churches in Rome and Milan. Both were truly men of God; but the typical Celtic monk was a man of feeling, and the typical Roman monk was a man of affairs. The good qualities of both were needed for the permanent life and perfection of the Church. But the Celts were unrivalled as pioneers. The people whom they made Christian remained Christian, and wherever they went they planted convents of men and women which became fresh centres of missionary work.

St. Cuthbert (d. 687), who absorbed these diverse influences, is one of the first of thoroughly English saints. Probably a Northumbrian, he was born in the Lothians, and was a shepherd when in 651 he believed he saw a vision of the soul of Aidan. He entered the monastery at Old Melrose, of which the first abbot was Eata, one of the twelve Northumbrian boys instructed by St. Aidan. Cuthbert had loved wrestling and running and boyish pranks; and a story, which has been rather refined than refuted, tells us that when he was eight years of age a child of three rebuked him for standing on his head naked. He also suffered from a swelling on his knee, a malady well known to athletes, but was cured by a hot poultice of flour and milk. After leading a life of great piety at Melrose, he accompanied Eata to the monastery at Ripon. When King Alchfrith, who built the monastery, adopted the Roman Easter, Cuthbert went back to Melrose, and preached the Gospel with great success to the ignorant country folk in the neighbourhood. After the Synod of Whitby,[1] in 664, he himself decided to abandon the Celtic Easter, and Eata, then Abbot of Lindisfarne, appointed him prior of the

[1] For this see below, p. 43.

house. Resolving to lead a more strictly ascetic life, Cuthbert in 676 first retired to a lonely cave, and then built for himself a cell on the island now known as House Island. He passed nine years in this cell, withdrawing more and more completely from all human intercourse until he only opened the window to give his blessing or accept some necessary food. More against his will than otherwise, he was persuaded to become Bishop of Lindisfarne, being consecrated at York by Archbishop Theodore and seven bishops in 685. Two years later he died in his cell, hardly sixty years of age, and worn out by his austerities and an internal tumour which was an evil legacy of the plague which attacked him at Melrose. He was neither a great reformer nor a man of great intellectual gifts, but his sincerity, gentleness, and humility won for him a veneration little, if at all, inferior to that which has been paid to martyrs and doctors of the Church. In 999 his relics were placed in Durham Cathedral, where they were found, together with the head of St. Oswald, in 1827.

No exhaustive account can here be given of the causes which led to the decline of Celtic Christianity. But among those causes are two which can be easily understood. The first is the adoption of the Latin language by the Celtic missionaries. This was a step which certainly was in the direction of a higher civilization, and assisted the formation of the schools of learning for which Ireland became famous. But it brought the Celtic Churches within the orbit of Roman ideas. In the east of Europe Cyril and Methodius, the apostles of the Slavs, provided their converts with the Bible and the liturgy in Slavonic. And the Arian Goths, in the fourth century, were provided by Ulfila with the Bible in Gothic. The result in each case was a degree of vitality and power of resistance which could not have otherwise been attained. If St. Patrick and St. Columba had provided their people with a Gaelic Bible and a Gaelic missal the struggle with Rome would have been indefinitely prolonged. But the diffusion of Latin among the Celts inevitably meant a closer communion with the heart of Latin Christendom.

A second cause of the Celtic decline can be found in the character of the Celtic monastic rules. Those rules found their fullest expression in the scheme of St. Columban. They were

terrible in their severity. Obedience 'even unto death' was required of his monks. The penal code was minute, the least negligence, the least sin of omission or commission, was to be punished with strokes of the rod. But there were no proper regulations for the administration of the monastery or for the employment of time in daily life. Now very near the time when St. Columban was born there died the great monk St. Benedict, who had profited by observing the mistakes of others, and had drawn up a rule which was both less impetuous and more precise than the rule of the great Celtic saint. St. Benedict knew that too harsh a system defeats itself, and knew that for 'idle hands' work is always found by the powers of evil. He therefore resolutely determined to be gentle, and carefully prescribed what was to be done hour by hour. The Benedictine rule was not known in France until after the death of St. Columban, but when it was known it quickly won its way, and before the ninth century was victorious because it was intrinsically better. Here as elsewhere the Celtic genius, so potent in attracting and stimulating the individual, was less able than the Latin to organize and govern a community. It taught men to confess their sins to a priest who was *anmchara*, friend of the soul, it urged them to endure in 'journeyings often', in order to spread the Gospel, but it did not inspire them with a sense of the religious value of unity and cohesion.

III

THE CHURCH OF THE GREEKS, A.D. 610–968

THE seventh century (610–717) was a dark period for the Eastern Christian world. The Empire was exhausted both in its military strength and in its financial resources. It ceased to be Roman, and Latin ceased to be the official language, though the Greeks continued to call themselves 'Roman' and did so until the nineteenth century. The Empire was Byzantine and its language was Greek. Though diminished, it was still capable of being consolidated; and it seemed as though it would revive under the honest toil, keen generalship, and religious ardour of the Emperor Heraclius. He tried, but failed.

Heraclius (610–642) was the first great Christian monarch who came into conflict with Muslim as well as pagan forces. From the pagan Persians he won back the Roman provinces in Asia, and in 628 he kept the Feast of the Epiphany in the palace of the Persian king, Chosroes. He recovered Jerusalem and the honoured relic of the Holy Cross. He won marked successes in the Balkans. But he had other foes to face besides the Persians in Asia and the Avars in Europe. These were the Arabs, who had already started on their wild career of conquest. The story that Muḥammad himself sent to Heraclius a messenger summoning him to acknowledge his divine mission, though possibly true, does not rest on a very secure foundation. But the Arab and the Byzantine armies saw one another in the face on the river Yarmūk in 636. The Arabs skilfully outflanked the Christians, inflicted on them a crushing defeat, and occupied Damascus. Jerusalem, which was practically a Greek city, surrendered in 638, and the Arab tribes, united by their amazing success, quickly began the conquest of Mesopotamia and Egypt.

The tragic surrender of the city of Alexandria to 'Amr, the Arab general, in October 642, sealed the fate of all Egypt and opened the way to further Muslim advance. It has been said that the conquerors were aided by the treachery of the Monophysites. On the other hand, it is held that Cyrus, the Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria, was himself a traitor, if not actually a convert to Islam. In any case it is certain that the imperial

armies were inefficient, and that the Copts of Egypt, unwarlike by nature and Monophysite by conviction, were as ready to obey an Arab as to follow Cyrus, who united in his person the representation of an alien government and a hated creed. If these Copts were disloyal to the Empire and the Church, their descendants for more than a thousand years have paid under the Muslim yoke a more than sufficient penalty. Nor should we forget that before the coming of the Muslims the Copts had spread the Christian religion among Abyssinians, Nubians, and even Arabs, who had proved worthy soldiers of the Cross.

Heraclius in his earnest attempt to secure moral unity in the Empire, at first met with a success similar to his early victories in war. At the advice of his staunch supporter, Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople, he opened negotiations with the leaders of the Monophysites. Some of them united with the Church in 633 on the basis of the statement that there is in Christ 'one divine-human operation'. This was naturally regarded as a Monophysite triumph, and the triumph was rendered more complete when Honorius the Pope, in writing to Sergius, said 'We confess one will of our Lord Jesus Christ'. In a second letter Honorius tried to shelve the question by opposing the use of both modes of expression, 'one operation' and 'two operations'. Disaffection and disturbances still continued, and in 638 Heraclius issued an edict composed by Sergius and known as the *Ekthesis* (Exposition of Faith). It deprecates the use of the expressions 'one operation' and 'two operations', but asserts 'one will'. This was simply an attempt to stop discussion and to do so in the interests of Monophysitism.

After the death of Heraclius the Emperor Constans II, by issuing an edict called the *Type*, made a similar vain attempt to enjoin silence on the disputed point. But the orthodox of Italy and Africa were not pacified, and in 649 Pope Martin I held a synod in the Lateran which anathematized the doctrine of one will in Christ as inconsistent with the decrees of Chalcedon, and also anathematized both Sergius and Honorius. Martin was punished for his boldness by being carried off to Constantinople, and he died in exile, after much suffering, in 655.

The Emperor Constantine Pogonatus (669–685), son and

successor of Constans, finally found it imperative to pursue a different policy. The Muslim conquest of Egypt and Syria made an agreement with the Monophysites of those regions as politically useless for the Empire as union with Rome was desirable. The Pope, Agatho, left no room for doubt as to his belief, for he held a preliminary synod at Rome and wrote an official letter maintaining the doctrine of two wills and two operations in Christ. And then, in 680, there was held at Constantinople the Sixth Oecumenical Council, which confirmed this letter, carefully excluded the 'Monothelete' doctrine of one will in Christ, and condemned Sergius and Honorius. The decision of the Council closely agrees with that of the Council of Chalcedon of 451. If our Lord had not a real human will, there would have been no full revelation to mankind of that purpose to which His humanity was true through sorrow and temptation.

The anathema pronounced upon Pope Honorius has caused considerable embarrassment to many defenders of the doctrine of papal infallibility. Sometimes it has been affirmed, with no reason whatever, that the manuscripts containing his name are at fault. Sometimes it has been said that he was not condemned as personally guilty of heresy, but 'only as guilty of negligence'. And thirdly, it is now urged that though he was guilty of heresy, his heresy was not contained in any document intended by him to be an *ex cathedra* statement instructing the Christian Church. It is, however, clear that the repeated anathemas pronounced against Honorius were the expression of the Church's belief that he had been guilty of something far more serious than negligence and imprudent silence. And with regard to the question whether his letters were intended to be *ex cathedra*, it is sufficient to quote Bishop Hefele, one of the most learned of Roman Catholic historians, 'Honorius wished to give a ruling on doctrine and faith in the first place to the Church of Constantinople and implicitly to the whole Church; in his second letter he even employs the following expression: "Further, so far as ecclesiastical dogma is concerned . . . we ought not to affirm one or two operations in the Mediator between God and men." '[1] The statement is clearly both official and heretical.

[1] *Histoire des Conciles*, par C. J. Hefele, corrigée par H. Leclercq, III, i, p. 387 (Paris, Letouzey, 1909).

The Emperor Leo III, the Isaurian (717–740), and his son Constantine V (740–775) have gone down in the pages of history as the first of the 'iconoclast' Emperors, men who made war against the pictures of Christ and his saints. They were capable men and they were fortunate. When in 717 the Saracens with a great fleet and army bore down upon Constantinople, the Saracen vessels were burnt by 'Greek fire', and the hardy children of the desert were frightened by the sight of snow. They were dispersed with heavy losses after besieging the city for a year, and their defeat was both a signal disaster for Islam and a splendid opening to the reign of Leo III. During his reign and that of his son, the Bulgars, like the Arabs, were severely checked, and the internal administration of the Empire was put upon a strong and permanent basis. Both, and especially Constantine V, disliked the monks on account of the wealth of the monasteries and their immunity from taxation. Both highly disapproved of the respect paid by the majority of the Greeks to the sacred icons or pictures, a respect which sometimes degenerated into grave superstitions, and Constantine V added to this disapproval his condemnation of the orthodox practice of invoking the prayers of the saints. Their suspicion of Byzantine forms of piety can largely be explained by the fact that Leo III was an Anatolian, and that iconoclastic tendencies were vigorous in the Asiatic provinces of the Empire. The half-Unitarian, half-Puritan sect of the Paulicians flourished among the Syrians and the Armenians, large numbers of whom were planted by Constantine V in Constantinople and also in Thrace. In the latter region remnants of the Paulicians remained as late as the beginning of the eighteenth century. And in Asia the criticism of Jews and Muslims would be likely to make Christians peculiarly sensitive to the accusation of idolatry. In 732 the Muslim khalif, Yezid II, had actually issued an edict against the use of pictures in the Christian churches of his dominions.

The eruption of a volcano in 726 was considered by Leo III to be a token of a divine displeasure which he might avert by enacting that icons should be no longer venerated. They were to be removed or destroyed, and a picture of our Lord was taken from its place over the palace gate. The excitable populace broke out into a riot and the rioters were severely punished.

Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople, refused to obey the Emperor's orders and was deprived of his office, and replaced in 730 by an iconoclast named Anastasius. Greece and Italy were in a ferment, and Leo would have lost Italy if it had not been for the wisdom of Pope Gregory II.

Constantine V completed the work of Leo III by summoning a council of 338 bishops, held at the palace of Hieria on the Bosporus, in 753. They condemned the veneration of icons, and the Emperor followed up this condemnation by persecuting the recusants, who included in their number the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch. Monasteries were secularized and even turned into barracks, monks were tortured or forced to marry nuns. The Abbot St. Stephen the Younger was done to death in the streets of Constantinople. And the new Patriarch, Constantine, who had shown sympathy with the martyr, was first exiled and then brought back to Constantinople, where he was scourged, shaven, rebaptized, carried backwards on an ass, and drawn through the Circus. He was finally beheaded and his body thrown into a sewer. Two years later (769) a Synod of the Lateran anathematized the opponents of the icons. Not only was the religious schism between Rome and the East for a time complete, but the Byzantines lost all their possessions in Italy except Venice and a few places in the south of the peninsula.

When Leo IV, son of Constantine V, died in 780, his widow, Irene, seized the opportunities afforded to her by the tender age of her son, Constantine VI. For years she skilfully intrigued against him, provoked his opposition, and finally ordered his eyes to be put out in 797. An Athenian by birth, she was able, ambitious, and unscrupulous. She was a fervent enemy of iconoclasm. Rome was on her side. A great Oecumenical Council (the Seventh) was convened at Constantinople. It was broken up by the imperial guards and Irene herself escaped with difficulty. The Council assembled again at Nicaea in Bithynia in 787 in the presence of the papal legates. The Council declared that the sacred pictures were to receive a 'relative veneration' and 'salutation of honour', and denied that they should be given divine worship (*latreia*). The honour to be paid to them was to consist in the acts of respect shown to the book of the Gospels,

i.e. kissing with the bowed head, and surrounding with lights and incense.

Order was restored or imposed, but Irene was banished on the accession of Nicephorus I in 802. She retired with dignity and supported herself by spinning, but died in the August of 803.

The second iconoclastic controversy broke out after the accession of Leo V, the Armenian, in 813. He was convinced that the misfortunes of the Empire were caused by the idolatry of his subjects. For a time he cloaked his real convictions. But in 815 he began his religious campaign. A fresh Council was convoked which denounced Irene and called the icons 'idols', and the opposing party was harshly persecuted. This persecution was relaxed under the Emperor Michael II, 'the Stammerer', who was at heart an iconoclast, but it became more violent than ever under his son Theophilus (829–842). Monasteries were closed, prisons were filled, and champions of the icons were branded with red-hot irons. But neither his able administration of the Empire, nor the dazzling pomp which he affected at home, reconciled the people to this impolitic persecution. At his death the Empress Theodora became regent. Methodius, a monk who had been persecuted by Michael II, became Patriarch of Constantinople, the pictures were restored to honour, and on February the 19th, 843, a triumphal procession, headed by the Empress, marched through the streets of the capital to St. Sophia's. In memory of the event the so-called 'Festival of Orthodoxy' was instituted throughout the Eastern Church. The dramatic struggle which had lasted more than one hundred years was brought to its close by Theodora, who completed the work of Irene. 'Dux femina facti.'

Two reflections can be fitly made with regard to the inward nature of the struggle. The first is that it was by no means a mere question of the use of the ornamental decoration of churches. The veneration of the pictures of the saints was subsidiary to that of the pictures of Jesus Christ. And His pictures were venerated because they were regarded as a guarantee of the truth that He who is eternally divine became really, visibly, tangibly human. The use of icons was therefore orthodox, excluding on the one hand the Paulicianism which denied Christ's

personal Deity and the Monophysitism which minimized His manhood. The second reflection is that opposition to iconoclasm drew much of its strength from a determination to resist State interference with the doctrine and discipline of the Church. In this way the champions of the icons resembled the ecclesiastics who, at a rather later time in the West, resisted the practice of the monarchs who claimed the right of investing bishops with the insignia of the episcopal office.

The above facts explain why St. John of Damascus, the last of the great Greek theologians, and St. Theodore of the Studium, the courageous monk of Constantinople, so firmly resisted the iconoclasts. The latter openly opposed Constantine VI for dismissing his wife Mary, and when Leo V tried to impose silence on religious questions, declared that he would rather have his tongue cut out than fail to bear testimony to the faith. He was banished in 815 and died in Bithynia in 826. From the point of view of dogma St. John of Damascus and St. Theodore of the Studium won the victory. But the patronage of orthodoxy by Theodora and her successors permanently increased the dependence of the Church upon the imperial throne, and in this respect crowned the work of the iconoclastic Emperors with success.

The relations between Rome and Constantinople were soon to be seriously imperilled once more. Questions concerning Christian morality and good discipline in high places proved to be as disruptive as those which concerned the manhood of Christ and the veneration of His pictures. And behind the new disputes which arose we can trace two distinct and even opposed attitudes towards the Papacy on the part of members of the Greek Church. The higher clergy and the governing officials were cold or lukewarm in their respect for pontiffs who were the mainstay of the Emperors of the West. And on the other hand the monks, who had been the enthusiastic defenders of the icons, and championed the complete liberty of the Church from State interference, believed that an effective guarantee of this liberty could be found in a close union of the Greek Church with the Roman. The ebb and flow of these opposing tendencies can be illustrated from the career of the celebrated Photius.

Photius (820–891), the Patriarch of Constantinople, who is held to be responsible for making the schism between East and West almost inevitable, is one of the great ecclesiastics whom it is hard to judge dispassionately. He was a highly born and fashionable secretary of state, and his elevation to the patriarchal throne was an outrage. It was occasioned by the fact that the austere Patriarch Ignatius, on the Feast of the Epiphany, 858, very properly refused to give holy communion to the Paphlagonian Bardas, who was guardian of the dissolute young Emperor, Michael III. He had been guilty of incest. Thereupon Ignatius was deposed and a gathering held in the palace selected Photius to fill his place.

Within a few days Photius went through the different grades of ordination and then quickly made his mark on history. No one denies his chastity, his extensive learning, and his intellectual acumen. He was a consummate savant, an aristocrat to the tips of his fingers, and not a favourite with the monks, who withstood the interference of the civil powers in the offices of the Church. The Pope of Rome was Nicholas I, an active and courageous pontiff, one more ready and better fitted for acting as the supreme arbiter of Christendom than any Pope since Gregory the Great. He supported Ignatius, and in 863 held a Council in the Lateran which decided that, unless Photius vacated the see of Constantinople, he should be anathematized and denied the Eucharist until the hour of his death. It is worth noting that two years later the same Pope, perhaps with entire sincerity, gave recognition to the *False Decretals* which had been forged in Gaul in order to strengthen the discipline of the Church and enhanced the power of the Pope, decretals which duped the Christian world for seven centuries.[1]

Nicholas I, in 866, wrote his famous 'Response to the Inquiries of the Bulgarians', in which he both claimed these new converts for Rome and showed a genuine interest in their welfare.

[1] A learned Roman Catholic historian has written thus concerning these decretals: 'The papal briefs of the first part of the work are, every one of them, forgeries, and the same is true of many contained in the last portion of the work; nor can the author crave forgiveness on the score that much of the material he uses is really taken from early documents'—Dr. F. X. Funk, *Manual of Church History*, vol. i, p. 288 (Kegan Paul & Co., London, 1910). See also below p. 72.

Photius regarded the arrival of the Roman legates who carried this letter to the Bulgarians as an encroachment upon his own jurisdiction. In the meantime his ingenious mind had been looking for joints in the Roman armour. He applied himself to prove that the Latins had been guilty of innovation and heresy in adding to the Nicene Creed the words that the Holy Spirit proceeds 'from the Son', and he was at any rate able to assert truly that the creed as ratified by the whole Church was without the phrase in question. Thus he endeavoured to insert a doctrinal basis under an existing schism. Aware of the importance attached by the vulgar to merely outward usages, he also condemned the Roman practice of fasting on Saturdays, eating eggs in Lent, and shaving the beard. In 867 he persuaded a Council at Constantinople to excommunicate as a heretic the Pope who had excommunicated him as a usurper, and he embodied his denunciation of Western usages in an encyclical sent to the Eastern Patriarchs and to Italy.

Shortly afterwards the young monster, Michael III, who had previously secured the assassination of Bardas, was himself murdered when drunk by Basil I, 'the Macedonian', who was Emperor from 867 to 886. Basil, who was an Armenian by descent, had been an unscrupulous adventurer, averse from neither debauchery nor bloodshed. But he showed himself a man of extraordinary capacities, a born ruler and administrator, who helped mightily to raise the Eastern Empire to the apex of its greatness. His struggle against the Saracens in the West was on the whole a failure, a failure which was sealed when the Saracens took Syracuse in 878. But he extended the frontier of his Empire eastward in Asia Minor and lived in peace with Armenia, Russia, Bulgaria, Venice, and Germany. Like Napoleon I at a later date, he saw the wisdom of having the Pope on his side, though he had no intention of granting all that the Pope might claim. He continued the policy of Photius in preventing Boris, the newly converted khan of the Bulgarians, from putting his country under the supremacy of Rome. But he disliked Photius, and saw that the restoration of the virtuous Ignatius would enhance his own personal popularity. Photius was therefore shut up in a monastery and Ignatius placed upon the patriarchal throne.

Basil then sent an embassy to the Pope, and at the end of 868 Pope Hadrian II solemnly condemned the Council which Photius had convoked, and summoned a new Council at Constantinople. His legates entered the city on September the 29th, 869. Basil received them with the highest honours, but he and they were not in full agreement. He desired a detailed judgement in the case of Photius: they made it plain that they had simply come to publish the sentence of the Popes against Photius and to reconcile those bishops of his party who were prepared to agree with that sentence. Photius remained resolutely silent before his accusers and was condemned, the legates observing that they were only publishing the sentence already formulated. Basil was obliged to accept what they said; but he took a speedy revenge. He assembled the fathers of the Council and tried to obtain from the legates a formal recognition of the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople over Bulgaria. The legates protested and departed. But they had hardly gone when Ignatius himself consecrated an archbishop and ten bishops for Bulgaria. By this act he made it clear that his view of papal jurisdiction was essentially the same as that of his rival Photius. Ignatius died in 877. Photius, who had gained the goodwill of Basil, became Patriarch once more, and in 879 held a Council to which Pope John VIII sent legates. The Pope was willing to recognize Photius if he would ask pardon for his past conduct before a Synod, and abstain from any interference in Bulgaria. Photius, far from asking pardon, defended his conduct and was applauded by the bishops present. The question of Bulgaria was referred to the decision of the Emperor. The Council also pronounced an anathema against all who added to the Nicene Creed. It was three years before John VIII learnt the full facts; and he then excommunicated Photius. The Churches of East and West were separated. The rupture was complete.

The triumph of Photius was not for long. In 886 he was banished by Basil's successor, Leo VI, to a monastery, where he survived for five years. Pope John VIII was murdered by his own household. Bulgaria became politically and spiritually allied with Byzantium. But the struggle with Rome was not forgotten, and the intrepid and erudite Photius became regarded as an apostle of orthodoxy who had intellectually vanquished

the barbarians of the West and 'illuminated the ends of the earth'.

Leo VI, immediately after the deposition of Photius, endeavoured to heal the breach with Rome. A serious obstacle lay in the fact that the recent Popes had refused to recognize any of the bishops consecrated by Photius. But agreement was reached and a general amnesty proclaimed in 898. Two papal legates arrived in Constantinople, and everything was happily arranged, including the order of precedence to be observed by the papal and patriarchal secretaries at the Emperor's table. A permanent papal embassy was established in the Eastern capital.

It was the Emperor himself who broke the peace. Determined to consolidate his dynasty and his Empire, he desired to ensure an heir to his throne. He therefore resolved to marry a fourth wife, his mistress Zoe, 'the black-eyed'. To marry a fourth wife was against the canons of the Church, and the Patriarch Nicholas Mysticus gave expression to his disapproval of the match. Nevertheless, he consented to baptize in St. Sophia the son that Zoe bore to Leo, if the latter undertook not to live with his mistress. Leo agreed, and immediately after the baptism of his child violated his promise by privately marrying Zoe. The Patriarch and bishops then forbade the Emperor to enter the churches. He appealed to the Pope. That Pope was Sergius III, the lover of the powerful and infamous Marozia (see p. 99). Sergius supported Leo, and Nicholas then made the mistake of corresponding with Andronicus Ducas, a conspirator against the throne. Leo taxed him with treason, forced him to abdicate, and made Euthymius Patriarch in his stead.

In 912 Leo VI lay dying. He repented and recalled Nicholas Mysticus, who after various vicissitudes wrote to Pope John X asking him to send new legates to Constantinople. Thus peace was restored in 920 and it lasted with slight interruptions until the great schism of 1054. The papacy was morally weak, 'ravaged by schism, simony, and nepotism', and the Patriarchs of Constantinople grew in influence and were engrossed in their own duties and ambitions. They were less friendly towards Rome than the Emperors, who found it useful to have on their side even the least worthy of the successors of St. Peter.

A singular proof of this alliance was shown in 933 by the Emperor Romanus Lecapenus. He had adroitly detached Bulgaria more completely from Rome by giving his granddaughter Mary in marriage to the young king, Peter. But he secured the approval of Pope John XI for the consecration of his son Theophylact as Patriarch, and the ceremony took place in the presence of four papal legates. The lad was sixteen years of age, devoted to pantomimes and horse-racing. Nevertheless, the dawn of better days was at hand. Theophylact was succeeded by prelates who were monks of austere life, inflexible in their principles, and resolute in asserting their independence of imperial power. To this period of spiritual revival belongs the foundation of the great monastery on Mount Athos (961) through the efforts of Athanasius, the spiritual director of the Emperor Nicephorus Phocas. It has remained to this day the very focus of Eastern Orthodox asceticism. Nicephorus carried his victorious arms to the West and to the East alike. He captured Crete from the Arabs, who had been the scourge of the Mediterranean, and he crushed the power of the Muslim emirs of Aleppo. It was not to be expected that he would leave Italy outside his projects. As far back as 726 Leo the Isaurian had taken provinces in southern Italy from the Pope and attached them to the Patriarch of Constantinople. In these regions large numbers of Greek monks settled as a result of the conquest of Egypt and Palestine by the Muslims and the troubles connected with the iconoclastic controversy. In the eighth century the clergy of Sicily were firmly attached to the Eastern Church. No Emperor or Empress, however devout they might be, ever thought of restoring southern Italy to Rome. And Nicephorus Phocas, without consulting the Pope, organized the churches of the Byzantine rite in that country by creating the province of Otranto (see p. 109). One episode after another shows that the Greeks took advantage of the weakness of Rome, not exactly in order to create a schism, but to obtain Roman recognition for the independent authority claimed by the Patriarch as Pope of another world.

The Byzantine Empire of the tenth century not only boasted of a powerful military organization and a perfected legal administration. There was a similar development of intellectual life. There were historians, philosophers, theologians, and poets.

It was an Empire of dazzling wealth and splendour and of superb artistic achievement. In bronze and ivory, silk and glass, in the craft of the goldsmith and the jeweller, the workshops of the Empire rivalled those of ancient Greece. There was a veritable renaissance, in which we can trace both the influence of classical models and that of the delicate decoration favoured by the Muslims in Baghdad and Damascus. The religious art displayed in the churches gathered together the beauty and the charm fostered by this refined intelligence. The 'New Church' built at Constantinople by Basil I was, if we may judge by the descriptions given us in the pages of Greek writers, hardly less wonderful than St. Sophia. It has entirely perished. But other churches at Athos and elsewhere remain and show us how the older Byzantine style became modified. The outline became more picturesque, the exterior surface of the walls more varied. The broad low dome was replaced by loftier and more elegant cupolas. The somewhat stiff basilican nave was abandoned, and the favourite plan was that of a Greek cross set within a square, a plan capable of many new forms and motives. And within there was a wonderland of walls, lined with shaded marbles, and above the marbles were mosaics flashing with gold and silver, and harmonies of colour, richer than any known hitherto. As a result of the iconoclastic controversy, precise rules were laid down concerning the composition of these pictures, but the pictures are a new and true expression of life and animation no less than of orthodox belief.

The Arab terror was not far away; and an ugly blow was dealt to the Byzantine claim to be the sole and universal Empire when the Empire of the West revived and Charles the Great was crowned in St. Peter's, Rome, on December the 25th, 800. But the Greeks had most of the consolations which the present world could offer, and their faith and worship fortified their belief that God and the mother of God were on their side. Nor was this belief mere vanity. For, in spite of much fanaticism among both monks and laity, there often existed a degree of piety, purity, and self-denial which 'adorned the doctrine of God our Saviour' and gave a moral splendour to the Church. To understand Byzantine civilization we must remember the Byzantine saints.

IV

THE ENGLISH CHURCH FROM ST. WILFRID TO EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

THE organization of the Church in England and its assimilation to the Latin rather than the Celtic model was to a great extent effected in the second half of the seventh century. The two men who showed an untiring activity in this work were Wilfrid, who is specially connected with Northumbria, and Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Wilfrid (634–709), a well-born Northumbrian youth, was helped by Eanfled, the Northumbrian queen, first to gain instruction from a monk of Lindisfarne and then to visit Rome. On his way thither he stayed at Lyons, where he won the favour of the archbishop, and in Rome he fell completely under the spell of a Church which was already venerable as well as vigorous. He then stayed at Lyons for about three years, and while there received the Roman tonsure. On his return home he was given a monastery at Ripon, and soon afterwards his speech at the Synod of Whitby in 664 resulted in the adoption of the Roman date for keeping Easter and the departure of the Celtic bishop, Colman.

Oswy, King of Northumbria, opened the proceedings at Whitby by urging the benefits of uniformity, and asking which of the two different traditions as to Easter was the true. Colman, Bishop of Lindisfarne, was called upon to speak, and defended the Celtic custom on the ground that it was derived from St. John. His speech was interpreted in English. Wilfrid replied with confidence and ability. In tracing the Roman custom to St. Peter he was as credulous as Colman in tracing the Celtic custom to St. John, his manner towards Colman was dictatorial, and his references to St. Columba were couched in a tone of superb indulgence. But he was correct in asserting the wide prevalence of the 'Catholic' Easter, he scored decisively when he pointed out that the Celts agreed with neither St. John nor St. Peter, and in a dexterous peroration introduced the great text 'Thou art Peter'. The perplexed king asked Colman if

these words were really spoken by our Lord to St. Peter. 'Certainly.' 'Did He ever give the like power to your Columba?' 'Never.' And as both parties were in this agreed, the king resolved to be on the side of the door-keeper, 'lest haply when I come to the doors of the kingdom of heaven, I may find none to unbar them, if he is adverse to me who is proved to hold the keys.' The cause was finished.

Colman departed for Iona, taking with him some of the bones of Aidan; and he died twelve years later in Inisboffin, a little island off the coast of Mayo.

Wilfrid was elected Bishop of York; and, scorning consecration at the hands of bishops whom he regarded as schismatics, he went to France and was consecrated with great pomp at Compiègne.

The rest of Wilfrid's life was one of ceaseless activity and varying fortunes, caused by his invincible determination to uphold the jurisdiction of the Pope in England. As soon as he returned home after his consecration he found his see occupied by Ceadda (St. Chad). Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, deprived Ceadda, but, in conjunction with King Egfrid, divided Wilfrid's huge diocese into four. Wilfrid declared that he would appeal to Rome. His words were treated with derision, and when he came back from Rome with the decision of a Roman Synod in his favour, he was put in prison. He had previously done active missionary work among the pagan Frisians, and, as soon as he was free, he began to evangelize the people of Sussex, whom he rescued from famine. After Egfrid's death he went again to York and was again expelled and even excommunicated by a Northumbrian Council. He again said that he would appeal to Rome, and in spite of his seventy years set out to accomplish the journey on foot. He reached Rome in 704 and obtained another decision in his favour. After his return he made peace with his opponents. He surrendered his claim to York and received instead the see of Hexham. In spite of his appeals to Rome he was left in a worse position than that created by Theodore in 678. He died at his monastery at Oundle in 709, but it is uncertain whether his relics finally rested at Ripon or at Canterbury. He was a man of great ability and courage, of genuine missionary zeal and high personal character, although

too unbending in his attitude towards his real or supposed adversaries.

Wilfrid must be remembered as a patron of fine architecture. At York he restored the church of Paulinus, which was rebuilt on a grand scale in the eighth century. He built a large church at Ripon; and at Hexham built not only a fine church of the basilican type, but another which was in the form of a Greek cross with a central tower, possibly an octagon, with galleries like those at San Vitale, Ravenna. The minsters at Ripon and Hexham still contain the stone crypts which without doubt are Wilfrid's work and are among the few early Christian monuments of western Europe of which the date is certain. Saxon architecture of the later period is akin to the Romanesque of Germany rather than that of Italy, a fact to be explained by the religious and political intercourse between England and the Continent in and after the reign of Charles the Great.

Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury (d. 690), was a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, the early home of St. Paul. He was consecrated in Rome in 668 by Pope Vitalian on the recommendation of Hadrian, an African who was abbot of a monastery near Naples. Together with Hadrian and Benedict Biscop he set out for England and, after various delays in France, arrived at Canterbury. Theodore, who had a scholar's knowledge of both Greek and Latin, immediately gave proof that his scholarship was not divorced from great administrative ability. The recent victory of the Roman party over the Celtic monks had as yet brought neither goodwill nor good order: and Theodore, on making a tour through all the English parts of the country, found only two or three bishoprics that were not vacant. He was able to get his authority almost universally recognized, and Ceadda even submitted to be reconsecrated by him in the Roman manner on leaving the see of York for that of Mercia.

Theodore proceeded to make Canterbury a centre of learning, and gave personal instruction to a crowd of scholars. He held the first Synod of the clergy of England at Hertford in 673, a Synod at which the Church of England first acted as a single body. He steadily increased the number of bishops. And though he acted with a high hand in dividing the diocese of York without the consent of Wilfrid, new dioceses were really

needed, and the creation of them was sanctioned by Rome. A Synod of bishops held under Theodore at Hatfield in 680 made a declaration of orthodoxy, acknowledging the five Oecumenical Councils which had hitherto been held, and also the Synod held at Rome in the time of Pope Martin repudiating the Monothelete heresy. Theodore's Penitential is the only important literary work ascribed to the great archbishop that still remains. It consists of a number of answers given to inquiries such as were necessitated by the life and morals of rude and recent converts. More than twenty references are made to the customs of the Greek Church, a fact which proves a real connexion with the reputed author. The tone is austere, but tempered with ideas that are both spiritual and humane. Theodore's Penitential informs us that the Greeks then communicated every Sunday, and Bede, who had observed the same custom in Rome, wishes that it were followed by the English.

The custom of assigning the penances due to sins had long been facilitated by old canonical regulations, and by letters of ancient fathers such as St. Cyprian and St. Basil. But these rules were hardly sufficient for the use of ignorant priests dealing with people who were only beginning to learn the moral principles of Christianity. Hence we find, especially among the Irish, the English, and the Franks, a growing attempt to provide manuals intended for the use of parish priests. These now took a larger share than before in the administration of penance, which had formerly rested mainly with the bishops. The development of auricular confession and private penances among the Celts increased the need of written manuals. So in Ireland we find in the fifth century the 'Canons of St. Patrick', followed in the next century by those of St. Finian, and by the British penitentials of St. David of Menevia and Gildas. They furnished material for St. Columban's *Liber de poenitentia*, which had a widespread influence. The Penitential of Theodore was of still greater importance. In its comprehensiveness, its orderly treatment, and fullness of detail it is in advance of any previous treatises of the same character. Theodore was well aware of the Roman custom of the bishop publicly 'reconciling' a penitent, after his penance had been accomplished, within the apse of the church,

and he revered the decrees of Rome. In spite of this, he adopted the Celtic system of private reconciliation, the priest, and not the bishop, being the ordinary minister of reconciliation. He makes the interesting remark that there is 'no public penance' in this province, and he admits the lawfulness of confession made to God alone. But he realized the value of a regulated discipline by which the children of the Church might make their peace with God, and in England the practice of private confession and penance quickly became habitual, and was so general as to be characteristic of 'the Church of the English'.

Archbishop Theodore, between the years 673 and 681, founded as many as seven new sees in England, and the boundaries of some of these sees remained the same for more than a thousand years. The earliest bishoprics were conterminous with the old English kingdoms of the eighth century and were usually attached to the royal court, so that Essex, Sussex, and even Wessex had each one bishop and one only. And it was Theodore who systematically divided the larger kingdoms into smaller dioceses. By 780 the dioceses were as follows: North of the Humber there were York, Hexham, and Lindisfarne, the last extending far into the south-eastern part of Scotland. South of the Humber was the large diocese of Lichfield, and also Sidnacester, which covered modern Lincolnshire; Hereford, Worcester Leicester, and Dorchester (in Oxfordshire). Elmham and Dunwich roughly corresponded with Norfolk and Suffolk. London, Rochester, and Canterbury were what they remained until the nineteenth century. Selsey was the ancient equivalent of Chichester. And westward of Selsey were the two large dioceses of Winchester and Sherborne.

The Danish invasions caused the number of bishoprics to be reduced. Hexham, Sidnacester, Leicester, and Dunwich disappeared permanently, and in the tenth century a new distribution of dioceses prevailed. Lindisfarne and Hexham were joined so as to make the new diocese of Durham. Dunwich was merged into Elmham, and Sidnacester, Leicester, and Dorchester formed one huge see of Dorchester. While the bishops of the north and east were reduced in number, those in the south were increased. King Edward the Elder (d. 924) divided

Winchester by assigning Berkshire and Wiltshire to the new see of Ramsbury and divided Sherborne by giving Somerset to Wells and Devon to Crediton. When Cornwall was annexed by Wessex, a new see was founded at St. Germans. The Normans only created two new sees, Carlisle and Ely. But their practical common sense caused the Norman prelates to reside in the largest towns in their dioceses, instead of remaining in mere villages like Dorchester and Selsey.

Since the coming of St. Augustine only two generations had passed when the Christian literature of England began to bloom. It began with two names of which any nation might be proud, Aldhelm and Bede. Books and a love of books had been brought to England in abundance by Theodore and Hadrian. They were accompanied on their journey to England by Benedict Biscop, Abbot of Wearmouth, who made seven visits to Rome and never came back without quantities of books, not to mention masons and church ornaments. Aldhelm and Bede are acquainted with the standard Latin poets, heathen and Christian, as well as the great Latin fathers. Very soon England was on a level with the Continent and with Ireland in the apparatus of scholarship, and the illuminated Lindisfarne Gospels and the sculptured Ruthwell cross remain to tell us what English art could produce before England was devastated by the Danes.

St. Aldhelm (d. 709), Bishop of Sherborne, was a pupil of Theodore at Canterbury. He knew Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and took a lead in the intellectual movement of the time, though, like some other learned scholars, he found arithmetic a troublesome science. He excelled as a musician and a poet, and when he found that people were unwilling to listen to his sermons, he stood on a bridge and sang until he secured their attention. Some of his intricate Latin writings remain, but unhappily his English poems, loved by King Alfred, have perished. Like Wilfrid, he was keenly interested in architecture. His great churches at Malmesbury and Sherborne were rebuilt in later times, and even the little Saxon church of St. Lawrence, Bradford-on-Avon, though sometimes considered a specimen of his work, is probably of the tenth century. More admirable than his zeal for material buildings was his sincere desire to promote

union between the English and the Celts of Devon and Cornwall. He treated the Celts as men who could be convinced by reasons, with the result that many conformed to the usages which he advocated. He visited Rome during the pontificate of Sergius I and there received a grant of privileges for his monasteries.

Bede (d. 735), monk of the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul at Wearmouth, was the most important writer of his age. The library collected by Benedict Biscop enabled him to sum up in himself all the learning that could then be known in western Europe. He knew Greek and possibly knew Hebrew. And he could write limpid Latin, with a scholar's instinct for the most trustworthy evidence and an artist's sense of the arresting and the picturesque. His scientific books include works on grammar and chronology; his strictly theological works consist mainly of commentaries and homilies. His chief historical work is his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, a book which has won for Bede the title of the Father of English History. It is largely drawn from different local sources, often oral, blended with admirable art. He loved to read and meditate upon the Scriptures, and from the beginning to the end of his career he manifested a spirit of intense and gentle piety. When a little boy in the monastery of Jarrow, a pestilence so thinned the number of the monks that the Abbot Ceolfrith was left to chant the services alone. For a week he did it alone, and then the dreariness of the sacred task became more than he could bear. But the boy was eager to help his teacher, and the two together persevered, singing the whole of the daily services until there were others ready to take their part in the choir. Few stories are so touching as the story of Bede's death. The day of his death was the Feast of the Ascension, May the 26th, 735. In spite of increasing weakness he had continued to lecture and to dictate his English translation of the Gospel of St. John, saying, 'I do not want my boys to read what is false'. When the festival came and all others had gone to join in the procession of the day, Bede and his scribe reached the last chapter of the Gospel, and in the evening the last sentence. After a while the youth said, 'Now it is finished'. 'Well,' said Bede, 'thou hast spoken truly "It is finished".' Then, lying on the pavement of his cell, he chanted the doxology, and as he uttered the words 'the Holy Ghost' he

breathed his last. He was buried at Jarrow, but his relics were placed in the twelfth century in a precious casket in the beautiful 'Galilee' of the cathedral church of Durham. The casket and its contents were plundered at the Reformation, though the bones of St. Cuthbert in the same church were fortunately so buried as to escape destruction or dispersion.

Anglo-Saxons, no less than Celts, were addicted to pilgrimages. In Great Britain, as elsewhere, the Holy Land and Rome were the two lodestars of the pious wanderers. The former was hallowed with memories of the Redeemer, the latter was 'the threshold of the apostles'. The Abbot Adamnan of Iona wrote a treatise *De locis sanctis*, written by him from the dictation of Arculfus, a Frankish bishop who had visited Palestine and had been shipwrecked on the British coast. An abridgement of the book was written by Bede. In the eighth century one of the most famous of English pilgrims was Willibald. With his father and brother he traversed France and northern Italy. His father died in Lucca; but Willibald went on to Rome, Syracuse, Ephesus, Damascus, and Jerusalem. He proceeded to Constantinople, and returned to Italy in 729, having been absent from England nine years. He then became a monk of Monte Cassino and in 739 was sent by Pope Gregory III to help St. Boniface in the work of converting Germany. Boniface made him bishop of the Middle-Frankish see of Eichstätt, where he died and was buried in 786. His life was written by a nun of the convent of Heidenheim, who probably based it on notes by Willibald himself. In the time of St. Boniface great numbers went from England to Rome. The stream had begun to flow about 653, when Benedict Biscop paid his first visit to Rome, to be soon followed by Wilfrid, who had been his companion for part of the way. In reference to Wilfrid's journey his friend Eddius Stephanus says expressly that 'as yet that road was untrodden by our nation'.

The moral dangers which beset the pilgrims, especially the women, were obvious to prudent eyes. Boniface deplores the habit of Englishwomen going to Rome as frequently fatal to their chastity. And when the Abbess Ethelburga of Fladbury found her projected pilgrimage impracticable, Alcuin, in the

spirit of St. Gregory of Nyssa, assured her that it was no great loss. 'Expend the money which thou hast gathered for the journey on the support of the poor; and if thou givest as thou canst, thou shalt reap as thou wilt.'

The coming of the Danish vikings threatened the whole of the growing life of England. Late in the eighth century they began their raids on the eastern coast. It is probable that they were hard pressed on the Continent by the advance of Charlemagne and his conquest of their Saxon neighbours. At first they came to plunder monasteries and villages, and soon departed. Gradually they began to stay longer and to plunder farther inland, always manifesting a special hatred of everything that was Christian. Then they wintered in East Anglia, and in 867 advanced into Northumbria, captured York, and became masters of nearly all the country between the Forth and the Humber; where the Christianity and the civilization which had taken root for two centuries were almost annihilated. In 870 the Danes became masters of Mercia; they ravaged the lands between the Humber and the Thames; the great monasteries, including Crowland, Peterborough, and Ely, were sacked. Edmund, the King of East Anglia, was killed. It was said that he was killed by Danish arrows for refusing to abandon the faith of Christ, and his shrine at Bury St. Edmunds afterwards became the most famous in England. Only Wessex remained unconquered.

Alfred (849–900) brother of the Ethelred, King of Wessex, who fell a victim to the Danes, inherited a kingdom which was little better than a wilderness. After 871 had been spent in a series of battles of varying fortunes there was a short respite. Then the Danes attacked again and Alfred retreated to the swamps and woods of Somerset, only to organize and plan. In 878 he came out of his stronghold and won a decisive victory at Edington in Wiltshire. The Danish king, Guthrum, then made peace and England was divided between the Danes and Alfred. Alfred kept all England south of a line drawn from Chester to London, and soon gained London itself. The tide had really turned and England was saved from completely relapsing into heathenism. A few years later the Danes came back to make a final effort, so confident of victory that they brought their

wives and children with them from the Continent. They were outmanœuvred by Alfred and in 897 they gave up the struggle. The power of those who remained in England was diminished in the next century. But they have left their mark on the English language, for they were the first to drop the grammatical inflections of their newly acquired tongue. And though they gradually became Christian, some of their peasant descendants in the north of England, within the memory of men yet living, still remembered the names of the gods of their forefathers, Thor, Wod (Woden), and Lok (Loki).

Alfred, by saving his own kingdom of Wessex, made it the centre of deliverance and unity for the whole country. Though he did not make England one kingdom, he made its union a certainty in the future. His legislation is a careful selection of the laws of earlier kings, imbued with a new and deeply religious character and beginning with the Ten Commandments. His private life was one of steady devotion to practical duty. He strove to restore the monastic life, founded two monasteries, and sent gifts not only to the poor at home but even to Rome and India. But no work that he did proved of a more abiding character than his services to knowledge and learning. He found his people densely ignorant and the Latin language almost forgotten. To remedy these evils Alfred established a court school to which he invited both native and foreign scholars. He himself wrote English translations of Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, of the histories of Bede and Orosius, and of the *Pastoral Rule* of St. Gregory. The result of his work and of his inspiration was not only to raise the level of general and clerical education, but also to provide the English people with a continuous record of their national history. Alfred's West Saxon dialect was not destined to remain the literary dialect of the whole country; that place was taken by Midland English after the Norman Conquest. But as an English Christian king and scholar, and as the father of the English people, Alfred remains without a rival. It is strange that he was never canonized.

The reign of Edgar (944–975) was a time of peace and happiness in which the work of Alfred bore good fruit. There can be no doubt that he had been a youth of licentious character. But

as a king he proved wise, capable, and successful. He let the English and the Danes live on equal terms and secured justice for both. It is significant that he conferred the archbishopric of York on Oswald, a Northumbrian Dane, and not on an Englishman. His success was symbolized by his magnificent coronation at Bath in 973, the first English coronation of which we have a full description. And the imagination of the people was kindled by his visit to Chester, where eight kings swore to be his fellow workers and, it is said, rowed his boat at the head of a great procession to the minster of St. John Baptist.

Edgar was fortunate in having as his friend and adviser a man of such unusual capacity and sanctified common sense as St. Dunstan (924–988). Dunstan had been trained by Irish teachers near Glastonbury, and exhibited a singular versatility for both handicraft and statecraft. He was fond of old ballads and of playing on the harp. He made church bells, crosses, and vestments, and encouraged calligraphy and the copying of manuscripts. When a very young monk he acted as one of the treasurers of King Edred. On the king's death he had to face the anger of the widowed queen and retired to a monastery at Ghent; but he came to his own on the accession of Edgar and occupied the see of Canterbury for nearly twenty-seven years. At Ghent secular canons had been replaced by Benedictines, and Dunstan himself joined the monastic order. In spite of this fact he showed a wise toleration in dealing with the married *clerks* of England. They certainly presented a difficult problem. The secular clergy were lax and strict monasticism was nearly extinct. Many of the monasteries which had survived the Danish raids were no longer tenanted by monks bound by vows of celibacy and poverty, but by colleges of clerks frequently married and devoted to few virtues except the virtue of hospitality. Dunstan himself, and likewise Ethelwold of Winchester, a fervent monk, and Oswald of Worcester, were all on the side of reform, and there was no little opposition between the monks and these clerks, later called 'canons'. Dunstan left the clerks unmolested at Canterbury, and when he died, in 988, they were still in possession at York, London, Dorchester, and other lesser houses. A married mass priest under Dunstan was not expelled, but was admonished and had to forfeit certain privileges. A similar

rule appears to have been made by Oswald when he went to Northumbria, where a priest was excommunicated if he forsook his wife in order to take another, and as late as 1070 a Council of Winchester, while forbidding canons to have wives, permitted the clergy in villages to retain their wives. The moderate policy of Dunstan in dealing with the married clergy had its counterpart in the king's attitude towards the Danes and the Mercians, an attitude which was almost certainly suggested by the archbishop himself. The result was an era of peace and prosperity.

The ecclesiastical canons drawn up by Dunstan show the same practical mind and tender heart that we find at work in the State. He is not content to denounce heathen practices, but also urges a sound education and weekly sermons. Strict rules as to ceremonial are balanced by insistence upon the duty of forgiving an enemy and comforting the sorrowful. As a teacher he was known to spare the child as well as the rod. And though he was in touch with Rome, he flatly refused to obey a papal mandate which commanded him to absolve a nobleman who had contracted an unlawful marriage. Dunstan is indeed one of the great figures in the ages that are confidently called 'dark' by those who have done little to explore their recesses.

In 990 King Ethelred 'the Redeless'[1] attained his majority. The hostile Danes returned, sure of some sympathy on the part of their kinsmen in the north of England. Again and again Ethelred bought a respite by paying larger and larger ransoms, until, maddened by failure, he planned a general massacre of the Danes in his own service on St. Brice's Day, 1002. The next year Svein, the Danish king who had apostatized from Christianity, began his terrible raids, sacking one English town after another. He would have been crowned King of England if he had not died unexpectedly in 1014. But only three years later Knut, a son of Svein, became king and reigned for eighteen years, and Englishmen had no cause to be sorry. He held a great *gemot* at Oxford in which he declared his intention of governing in accordance with the law of Edgar; he sent back to Denmark the bulk of his Scandinavian forces; he not only ruled humanely, but showed himself a zealous Christian. He continued Dunstan's work of trying to extirpate heathenism,

[1] Redeless means 'badly advised'.

and heartily supported the reforming monastic party in the Church. He appears to have been thoroughly sincere and not to have strengthened the Church merely because it was the only unifying and civilizing force in the country. He rebuilt the church at St. Edmundsbury in memory of the king who had been murdered by former vikings. And he transferred with much pomp to Canterbury the relics of St. Alphege (Aelfheah), whom the Danes had murdered at a drunken feast at Greenwich in 1012.

Knut died in 1035. His empire quickly fell to pieces, and the Norsemen and the Danes, being at war with each other, left England alone. The reign of Edward the Confessor (d. 1066) closes the history of the Old English Church. It was really a time of transition; for the king himself was half a Norman, he preferred the Normans as more cultured than the English, and unwisely showed his preference by constantly promoting Norman noblemen and ecclesiastics to positions of importance. Among these ecclesiastics was Robert of Jumièges, who was made Bishop of London in 1044 and was said to have such unlimited influence over the king that the king would have believed him if he had said that a black crow was white. But in spite of his partiality for foreign favourites, the king retained a hold upon the affection of his English subjects. He was dignified, affable, charitable, moderate in eating and drinking, virtuous and devout, fond of hunting. After his death the fact that Edward was the last of the line of Alfred helped to secure for him among the English people a veneration which their Norman monarchs in no way discouraged. His undoubted loyalty to the Church and his patronage of monasticism won for him the praises of his monkish biographers, and his halo was completed by the glories of the abbey church of Westminster. To the older Saxon church he added a great apsidal choir with radiating chapels in the Norman style. It was consecrated a few days before his death, and within its walls he was laid to rest. Two hundred years later the church was rebuilt in a triumphant harmony of French and English art, and over the retable of the high altar glowed in the background the shrine of the canonized 'St. Edward the Confessor', a marvel of pure gold and precious stones. The gold is gone, but his bones remain.

V

THE FRANKS, THE ENGLISH, AND CHARLEMAGNE

THE baptism of Clovis was as significant as the conversion of Constantine. It was an event which influenced the history of the world.

In the country which is now France, three races of invaders had fixed themselves by the end of the fifth century: the Visigoths in the south-west, their kinsmen the Burgundians in the south-east, the Franks in the north. The two former races had embraced Arianism, worshipping Christ as a mere demigod; the Franks were still worshippers of the old German deities. These Franks were divided into two principal groups, the *Ripuarians*, who dwelt on the bank of the Rhine, and the *Salians*, who lived near the Issel or Sala. When the Roman Empire fell into pieces, in 476, the chief of the main body of the Salians was Childeric the son of Merovech. His people lived about Tournai and his warriors probably numbered about six thousand. He died in 481 and his successor was a boy of fifteen years, Clovis (Clodowech), the true founder of the Frankish monarchy. He began his career of success by conquering Syagrius, a Roman general who had carved out for himself a principality in and around Soissons, and posed as 'King of the Romans'. Clovis annexed this realm and the population of Gallo-Romans lived on good terms with their Teutonic conquerors. About 492 he formed a desire to marry Clothilde, a daughter of the king of the Burgundians and a Catholic. A most romantic story of the wooing of Clothilde is told by the so-called Fredegarius, who lived early in the seventh century and probably derived his story from old traditions of some value. The union took place and realized the hopes of the episcopate of Gaul and especially of St. Rémi (Remigius) of Reims. But Clovis remained a pagan, and reproached the wife whom he loved when their first child died while still wearing his white baptismal robe. The child, he said, would have lived if he had been baptized in the name of his father's gods. But the brave queen 'thanked God because He had taken her first-born child into His kingdom'.

A second child was baptized, sickened, but survived. Clovis

nevertheless did not abandon Thor and Odin. But in 496 he had to face an invasion of the Alemanni, who pressed across the Rhine and occupied the country between the Rhine and the Vosges mountains. Clovis met them with his army, and all seemed lost when he implored the aid of Christ and vowed that if he won the victory he would be baptized. The king of the Alemanni fell and his army was defeated. And on Christmas Day 496, amid a splendour worthy of the occasion, Clovis was baptized at Reims by St. Rémi, who is said to have uttered the words, 'Bow thy neck, O Frank, worship what thou hast burnt, and burn what thou hast worshipped'. The news of this conversion sent a thrill through western Christendom, and the orthodox outside his dominions looked to Clovis to deliver them from their Arian rulers. His attack on Burgundy was a failure. But in 507 he routed the Visigoths about ten miles from Poitiers, slaying the mighty Alaric in single combat, and occupied Bordeaux and Toulouse. He won four-fifths of Gaul, and in 510, in the great basilica of Tours, he was invested with the tunic, the purple mantle, and the diadem. The next year he died. He was no saint, but he was not insincere; and we can well believe the tale told by Fredegarius that Clovis was so moved by the story of Christ's Passion that he exclaimed, 'If I had been there with my Franks, I would have avenged His wrongs'.

It is St. Gregory of Tours (d. 594) who, in his *History of the Franks*, and his record of saintly lives, makes the France of the sixth century live once more. It was an age of cruelty, of cupidity, and of superstition. But those who pierce through the dull records of sombre crimes and trivial miracles can discover not only romance but also true religion. The Christians were surrounded by heathen neighbours and their Christianity was crude and adulterated. But they believed in the presence and power of God and in the friendship of His saints; they were impressed by the self-renunciation of lonely hermits and of wealthy men and women who bestowed all their goods to feed the poor; they could honour a chastity preserved amid the fires of temptation. The lives of the common people were sad and sordid; but their religion led them into a happier country, and the worship of the Church gave them visions of peace and beauty. And Gregory himself, though he regrets the rusticity of

his Latin, was a master of the art of narrative, able to write just what he had seen and heard. He can describe the crowds that thronged the roads to a festival, or the hermit in his lonely cave in the primeval forest, or the mysterious lights that hovered over the forgotten tombs of saints and martyrs, or his own debate with an Arian legate from the Visigothic court in Spain.

After the victories of Clovis, Arianism disappeared from Gaul except in the south-eastern corner. In Africa the Vandal laws were specially directed against the Romans and the Catholics; but the persecution, sometimes very severe, varied according to the temper of the different rulers and the state of foreign politics. The Vandal empire was finally crushed by Justinian's general Belisarius in 533. The Visigoths in Spain were fierce persecutors, but the conversion of King Reccared the Visigoth to Catholicism in 589 secured the ascendancy of Catholicism. Near the close of the fifth century it seemed as if the whole of the Teutonic world would be Arian, worshipping a Christ robbed of His eternity. One hundred years later Arianism was vanishing like an evil dream, and it disappeared when the Lombards of Pavia renounced it in the middle of the seventh century.

The Church of Spain, with the aid of the Visigoth kings, acquired a compact and vigorous organization. It enjoyed a provincial and inter-provincial system of government under the Bishop of Toledo, 'metropolitan bishop of the royal city'. It was he, and not the Pope, who had the recognized right to intervene in the nomination of every bishop in the kingdom. Spain had its own canon law and its own elaborate liturgy, which was generally abandoned in the eleventh century, but still survives in a chapel of the cathedral of Toledo. The Church was almost entirely autonomous, and in 636 Eugenius, Metropolitan of Toledo, said that he could find in the New Testament no ground for supposing that St. Peter possessed any unique authority. The Church of Spain was shattered by the Muslim invasions of the next century.[1]

[1] In the ninth century the Christians of Spain found a new incentive to patriotism and piety in the discovery of the alleged bones of St. James the apostle, the son of Zebedee, at Compostela, which became one of the favourite holy places of medieval pilgrims. The 'relics' were hidden in the apse of the church in the time of Queen Elizabeth, lest they should fall into the hands of

While the conversion of the Franks to Catholic Christianity prepared for the extinction of Arianism, the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons supplied the Teutonic races with Catholic missionaries of apostolic zeal. When we think of the work accomplished by the missionaries of the seventh and eighth centuries, we must bear in mind that the Slavs had submerged the country east of the Elbe, and that west of that river there were continual wanderings and wars of the great Teutonic tribes. The Frisians, who in race and language are akin to the purest English, occupied the greater part of Holland and the adjacent coasts, extending from Ostend to the river Ems. South of Slesvig a large area was occupied by the Saxons. Their neighbours the Franks had poured southwards, conquering the Romanized Celts in the country to which they gave the name of France, and pushing against the Frisians in the north, as well as the Saxons to the east and the Thuringians beyond the Saxons. In the seventh century these three latter races were pagan; whereas the Alemanni, whose name became applied to all German people by the French of later times, were already accepting Christianity from the Franks.

We saw that Clovis died in 511. His sons extended their rule over nearly the whole of Gaul. They subdued the kingdom of Burgundy and they got back from the Ostrogoths Provence with its famous capital Arles, 'little Rome in Gaul', still famous for its Roman antiquities and the classic features of its inhabitants. The Frankish realm tended to fall into three, and then into two, well-marked divisions. The practice of dividing the kingdom prevailed for several generations, each death of a king involved a new partition, and the king of each division was called 'King of the Franks'. The three divisions were Austrasia, 'the Eastern land', Neustria, 'the Newest land', and Burgundy, which was often ruled by the King of Neustria. The principal town of

raiding English sailors. They were found again in 1879, and their authenticity was guaranteed by Rome. There is, however, no evidence to show that either St. James or his relics were ever brought to Spain, though the men who originally found the bones may have believed otherwise. The best and earliest authorities are quite silent on the subject. The works of St. Isidore (d. 636), St. Ildefonsus (d. 669), and St. Julian of Toledo (d. 690) show no trace of the legend, and the Mozárabic books manifest none of the predilection for St. James which we should expect to find if that legend were really history.

Austrasia, the eastern part of the Frankish kingdom, was Metz; and the principal town of Neustria, the western part, was Paris, which had been sagaciously selected by Clovis as his centre.

Until the death of Dagobert, in 639, the kings of the Merovingian dynasty displayed considerable energy and variety of interests. Their inherited love of fighting found an outlet in battles at home or abroad. And their newly acquired culture expressed itself in the building of villas, and in the efforts of King Chilperic to enforce the addition of four new letters to the Latin alphabet invented by his own royal hand. After Dagobert the Merovingian kings were neither warriors nor men. They were debauched youths who lolled in their palaces, took the air in litters drawn by oxen, and met with the early death that was merited by their vices. It was therefore inevitable that local officials should try to usurp the royal prerogatives, and that the substance of royal power should be grasped by the 'Mayors of the Palace'. Such was the origin of the new dynasty which derived its name of Carolingian from Charlemagne, its most famous scion.

Dagobert in his youth was under the guardianship of Arnulf, Bishop of Metz, and Pepin I, called 'of Landen', mayor of the palace of Austrasia (d. 640). Pepin's daughter married a son of Arnulf. Their son Pepin II, called 'of Heristal', secured complete predominance in Austrasia, defeated the Neustrians in 687, and thereby became in fact, if not in name, sole master of almost the whole of Gaul. He fought against the Frisians, the Alemanni, and the Bavarians, and died in 714. He was succeeded by his illegitimate son Charles Martel (d. 741), who seized the mayoralty in both kingdoms. Charles divided his realm between his two sons, giving the east to Carloman and the west to Pepin III, called 'the Short' (d. 768), a monarch no less important in ecclesiastical history than was his father.

So much at least seems necessary as a preliminary to an account of the united work of the English and the Franks in promoting the knowledge of the Gospel.

Willibrord (d. 739), an Anglo-Saxon, first established Christianity firmly among the Frisians. He was the son of Wilgils,

a Northumbrian, and was educated in Wilfrid's monastery at Ripon. When he was twenty he went to study in Ireland, and thus he became trained in the two distinct types of Western Catholicism, the Celtic and the Roman. In 690 he was sent by St. Egbert, a famous Northumbrian ascetic, with eleven companions, to Frisia. Like his three predecessors among the Frisians, Amandus, Eligius, and Wilfrid, he had to contend with many difficulties. The Frisians were struggling for their national existence against the Christian Franks, and Rathbod, their king, was a hardened pagan. Failing to convert the subjects of Rathbod, the Anglo-Saxon missionary went to the Frank, Pepin II, and preached in the Meuse districts to the conquered Frisians. He went to Rome and obtained the approval of Pope Sergius I for his work. He went to Heligoland, where the native population still retains its Frisian tongue, and there he violated the heathen sacred places. For this he was brought before Rathbod, who was so much impressed by Willibrord's courage that he spared his life. Once more, at great peril, he destroyed the famous idol of Walcheren. In 695 he again visited Rome, and Pope Sergius consecrated him as archbishop of the Frisians. Pepin II assigned him Utrecht as his episcopal city, and he consecrated bishops and built churches and monasteries. He was visited by Wilfrid about 703. He was also honoured by Pepin's successor, Charles Martel, who proved himself to be the champion of Christendom by defeating the Arabs at Poitiers, and thereby saving France, and eventually Europe, from the domination of the Crescent (732). Willibrord died in 739 at Echternach, one of the monasteries which he had founded near Trier.

Wynfrith (680–754), another Anglo-Saxon, is the saint who has the greatest right to be called the apostle of the Germans. He was born at Crediton, and educated first at Exeter and then at the monastery of Nursling near Winchester. He went to Friesland in 716, but as the redoutable Rathbod was then fighting against Charles Martel, it was hopeless to attempt much for the conversion of Rathbod's people. He went back to Nursling, and then proceeded to Rome with a letter of introduction from the Bishop of Winchester. Pope Gregory II received him favourably and gave him authority to evangelize

Germany. Then with the new name of Boniface [1] he went through Bavaria and Thuringia, and when Rathbod died, in 719, he worked for three years in Frisia. Then he went to Hesse and converted many of the heathen in Amoeneburg. He made a second journey to Rome and in 722 was consecrated bishop by the Pope after taking an oath of allegiance to the apostolic see. He left Rome armed with letters to Charles Martel and other prominent persons and began to continue the evangelization of Hesse and Thuringia. He called from England a band of missionaries, both monks and nuns. Pagan practices were still rife among the native semi-Christians. Among them was the veneration of sacred trees, a survival of which remains in the so-called 'Christmas tree', which was introduced into England from Germany in the nineteenth century. Boniface endeavoured to strike at the root of the evil by felling an oak dedicated to Thor, near Fritzlar, and from the timber he erected a chapel dedicated to St. Peter. His courage was rewarded by a large number of conversions. In 732 Gregory III made him an archbishop.

After the death of Charles Martel, in 741, and the accession of his son Pepin III, the activity of Boniface became even wider than before. Helped by Carloman and Pepin, and by Pope Zacharias, he set to work to reform the whole Frankish Church. In 742 began a series of Church Councils; the rules of the Church were enforced, heathen practices condemned, and dioceses were grouped under metropolitan sees. Some difficulties came from within the Church; Boniface had to deal with the heresy of an Irish priest named Clement and the 'prophecies' of a Frankish bishop named Aldebert. Their opposition failed, and in 744 he prepared to occupy the important see of Cologne. But the deposition of Gewilib, Archbishop of Mainz, made it seem desirable that Boniface should be the new Archbishop of Mainz, a place of pre-eminent influence. He resigned the see in order to devote his closing years to Frisia, the country of his first evangelistic efforts. He went there with a large body of fellow workers and many thousands of Frisians were added to the Church. But he had not long to wait for a martyr's crown. On the Eve of Whitsunday, June the 5th, 754, at a place near Dokkum, where he arranged to administer confirmation, he was

[1] From *fari bonum*, see Vulgate, Isaiah lii. 7.

met by a band of heathens, who slew him and his fifty-two companions. His remains were afterwards removed to the monastery church of Fulda, which he had founded.

Boniface was certainly both one of the noblest and one of the most successful of missionaries ever born on English soil. The Christianity of Germany, fragmentary and without spiritual control, was in danger of sinking into the worship of Thor and Odin. Boniface saw the peril, and by making the Churches of Bavaria, Hesse, and Thuringia coherent systems united to each other and subject to Rome, he consolidated both the religion and the culture of a vital part of central Europe, and prepared for their expansion to the north and to the east.

Pepin III (d. 768) was consecrated and crowned as King of the Franks, some say by St. Boniface himself. To be solemnly crowned was the custom of the Byzantine Emperors, who in this had copied a practice of the Jews as old as the time of Samuel and Saul. The ceremony impressed the Franks and Pepin had it repeated. Pope Stephen II, threatened by the Lombard king Aistulf, fled to Gaul. He was received with great honour, and in July 754 himself crowned Pepin in the abbey of Saint-Denis. Thus began in France the theory that a king rules by 'right divine', a theory which held sway in France for more than a thousand years, until the downfall of Louis XVI. Stephen bestowed upon Pepin the title of 'patrician of the Romans', a title which had been given to foreign princes in former days by Roman Emperors.

If Charles Martel had proved himself the defender of Christendom, Pepin proved himself the protector of the Pope. He twice invaded Italy, defeated Aistulf, and sent an envoy into the exarchate of Ravenna to demand the keys of the cities of the exarchate. He then bestowed the exarchate with twenty-two towns upon 'St. Peter and his successors'. This was a doubly significant event. It was the foundation of the Papal States, over which the Popes exercised temporal power until 1870. It was also the nearly complete severance of Italy from the Eastern Empire.

Charlemagne (*c.* 742–814), great in history and even greater in legend, succeeded Pepin III. Desiderius, King of the Lombards,

the successor of Aistulf, wrested from the Pope the cities of which Aistulf had been deprived. Thereupon Pope Hadrian I appealed to Charlemagne, who was then fighting against the Saxons. He crossed the Alps, began the siege of Pavia, and went to Rome, where he kept the Easter of 774 and renewed the donation made to the Pope by his father, Pepin III.[1] He then witnessed the capitulation of Pavia and was crowned King of the Lombards. The peninsula, however, was not at peace. In 799 Pope Leo III was attacked and wounded by the family of his predecessor, Hadrian. He fled for refuge to Charlemagne, then at Paderborn, and the two returned to Rome in triumph. Leo had previously recognized the temporal supremacy of Charlemagne over Rome, even sending to him the keys of St. Peter's tomb. And now, on Christmas Day 800, Charlemagne knelt before the tomb, and was crowned by the Pope and proclaimed Emperor and Augustus. The great significance of Charlemagne's coronation is this. The old Eastern Roman Empire still existed at Constantinople. But the old Latin Empire of the West was dead and had been replaced in a large measure by the papacy. Charlemagne by becoming the master of northern and central Italy and receiving an imperial crown at Rome, made his Empire appear as the continuation of the Roman Empire of the West. But he also transferred to his Empire much of the spiritual prestige and international cohesion of the Catholic Church of the Latin world. His rule was theocratic. The Pope was a necessary part of this theocracy. He was the power beside the king, but he was not behind the king; the king often acted on his own initiative. And though the Carolingian kingdom was soon severed, the influence of the close union between Church and State under Charlemagne was not forgotten. It left a deep mark upon the institutions of the Church and prepared for the later rivalry between the Empire and the Papacy.

The conversion of the Saxons was the result of the conquests

[1] This Donation of Pepin, which is genuine, must be distinguished from the so-called Donation of Constantine. The latter is a supposed grant by the emperor Constantine to Pope Sylvester and his successors, both of spiritual supremacy and of temporal dominion over Rome and 'the provinces, places and cities of the western regions'. This spurious document was almost universally regarded as genuine until the fifteenth century. It was forged in Rome about 775.

of Charlemagne. The Saxons, like the Frisians, had no love for Christianity, for to them Christianity was in a special sense the Frankish religion as it had been the Roman religion to the Goths of the sixth century. Two Anglo-Saxon missionaries, Ewald the Black and Ewald the White, had gone early in the eighth century to preach to their continental kinsmen and received the martyr's crown. Christianity made little or no progress and Charlemagne determined to subdue a people whose independence was a menace to his empire. His first expedition (772) resulted in the capture of the stronghold Eresburg and the destruction of Irminsul, a pillar held sacred by the Saxons. As soon as he left the country the Saxons rose again, and in spite of treaties, killed every Frankish priest and warrior whom they could find (782). Charles then punished their treachery by beheading 4,500 Saxons at Verden. After a battle at Detmold, and another on the Hase, the power of the Saxons crumbled, and by 804 it was crushed. In 786 the law forbade, under pain of death, the practice of heathen rites and the refusal of Christian baptism. The two Saxon chiefs Widukind and Abbio then received baptism. Bishoprics were founded at Bremen, Minden, and Verden, and before long Münster, Paderborn, and Halberstadt were added.

The subjugation of the Saxons by Charlemagne was connected with a serious interlude in Spain.

The Muslim conquest of Spain in 732 drove back the Christian frontier far north, so that by 756 it only included the Asturias, Santander, parts of Burgos, Leon, and Galicia. The invaders, however, were torn by dissensions, and it was not until the arrival of 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān at Seville, in the latter year, that the Muslim power began to be united and secure. In 777 A'rābī, governor of Barcelona, formed a league against 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān and invited the help of Charlemagne. Charles, believing that he had sufficiently tamed the Saxons, crossed the Pyrenees with an army and besieged Saragossa. He was recalled by the news that Widukind had returned to Saxony and had reached Cologne, and it was on his way back to France through Roncesvalles that the rear-guard of his army was annihilated by the Basques. There Roland fell, the hero immortalized in the 'Chanson de Roland'. It is a sober and noble

epic. The oldest recension of it is the work of an Anglo-Norman scribe of the twelfth century, and is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Following the lines that we should expect in popular tradition and poetry, the defeat of Charlemagne's forces is represented as a national disaster, and the Basque assailants become a vast army of Saracens, Muslims who are the sworn foes of Franks and Christendom.

'Abd-ar-Raḥmān beat his fellow Muslim and captured Saragossa. But eighteen years later Charlemagne conquered the Spanish March beyond the Pyrenees and in 801 he extended his sway over Barcelona.

Charlemagne was in some degree like Constantine and the other 'theological emperors' of the fourth century. He seriously regarded himself as the protector of Christianity, one whose warriors would defend the bodies of the faithful and whose priests would defend their souls. His great mental activity, his genius for organization, and his grasp of detail were all at the service of the Church. Under his influence no less than 477 decisions affecting religion and morals were passed by various ecclesiastical councils, and the work begun by St. Boniface gained year by year in strength and symmetry.

The spiritual life of cathedral churches was stimulated by Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz, who formed a group of canons leading a common life but keeping their private property. Monastic life received a new impulse from Witiza, a Languedocian who became known as Benedict of Aniane. And around each bishop the cathedral chapter became a seminary for teaching priests the elements of their clerical duties. Charlemagne was more than modern in his passion for holding examinations. His clergy were not only examined before they were ordained, but were examined after as to the baptisms they administered, the liturgy, their own belief, and their own conduct. Charlemagne, though he could speak Latin and understood Greek, could hardly write at all. But he demanded essays on baptism from his clergy, and by insisting on the regular administration of holy unction, he endeavoured to provide his subjects with the best means for facing death as well as for receiving a new birth in Christ.

Side by side with the cathedral and monastic churches were schools. Some of these schools possessed good libraries. Books were copied, and copied in an improved and legible handwriting. Among these books the Bible held the first place. Of the scholars whom Charlemagne delighted to honour at least four must be mentioned here. The first was Paul the Deacon, an Italian, who wrote a valuable history of the Lombards. The second was Theodulf, a Spaniard, who was the best Latin poet of the time. The third was Einhard, a German, who wrote an excellent 'Life' of his patron. But the foremost was the wise and attractive Englishman, Alcuin (d. 804), who had been trained among the good scholarly traditions of York. In his library at York he had a Bible which was brought to Tours and served as the basis of a revised version of the Scriptures. Roman liturgical books also appeared, and the most important of them was the Gregorian Sacramentary. By the imperial command this Roman book, with some modifications, replaced the old Gallican books of France. As time went on, the old Roman books yielded more and more to Frankish books which were not purely Roman, and in Rome itself the liturgy became infected with Frankish influence. But, broadly speaking, liturgical anarchy was checked. The subjects of Charlemagne worshipped after the manner of the king's chapel, the chapel at Aix, which was copied from the church of San Vitale at Ravenna and resounded with the Roman chant.

Charlemagne did not confine his care to the externals of worship or the instruction given in schools and pulpits. He concerned himself with three subjects of great doctrinal importance. Western Christendom had not been represented at the Second Council of Nicaea, held in 787, the Council which defended the use and veneration of sacred pictures or images. Reports of this Council raised grave misgivings in the West, where it was supposed that the Council had sanctioned the rendering of 'adoration' or divine worship to representations of our Lord and His saints. A Council held in 794 at Frankfurt, under the patronage of Charlemagne, denounced the Second Council of Nicaea as 'most inept' and repudiated the worship of images. The 'Caroline Books' were composed recording this doctrine and sent to Pope Hadrian, who deferred publishing the

acts of the Council of Nicaea. The use of pictures and images as means of instruction was permitted among the Franks, but it was long before their Church tolerated the practice of surrounding them with the tapers and the incense so dear to the heart of Oriental Christendom. But at Frankfurt Charlemagne did more than tilt against images with his potent lance. He defended the Catholic doctrine of Christ's Person. Elipandus, Archbishop of Toledo, revived in a new form the old heresy of Adoptionism, teaching that our Lord in his human nature was only the adopted Son of God. As the older form of Adoptionism was acceptable to some Christians exposed to the opposition of Jews who denied the Deity of Christ, so this later form gained followers in a country where Muslims denied that cardinal verity. The heresy was also introduced into Languedoc by a bishop named Felix. The Council of Frankfurt discussed and condemned this error, and Charlemagne sent bishops who persuaded Felix to abandon Adoptionism.

The Church of Spain appears to have influenced Charlemagne at another point. The truth that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father had been asserted by St. John and by the Oecumenical Councils, and was enshrined in the Creed. The further statement that the Holy Spirit proceeds also from the Son was widely accepted in the West and seems implied in the more mature doctrine of some celebrated Eastern fathers. At Toledo in 589 a great Council pronounced an anathema on any one who denied that the Holy Spirit proceeds 'from the Son', and the practice of inserting these words in the creed sung at the liturgy began gradually to prevail. As Charlemagne's rule extended into Spain as far as Barcelona, some of his subjects must have been familiar with the new practice. It was in agreement with the teaching of St. Augustine, and Charlemagne's favourite reading was the noble treatise of that saint called the 'City of God'. It is therefore not surprising that the *Filioque* was adopted in the royal chapel and spread throughout the Frankish Church. It very soon became a stumbling-block to Oriental Christians, who felt that, whether it was true or false, it was an interpolation inserted without adequate authority into one of the most hallowed monuments of the Christian faith.

To the Christian student it comes as a shock to learn that this

fervent defender of Christianity and patron of culture, who cared alike for the learned and the poor, was in his sexual morality very near the level of an ancient Jewish monarch. At the instance of Frederick Barbarossa the anti-pope Pascal III canonized Charlemagne. This canonization the Church has not ratified, and Charlemagne is numbered among her benefactors but not among her saints.

VI

CATHOLICISM AND NATIONALISM IN THE NINTH CENTURY

THE empire of Charlemagne had included the countries which are now called France, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, together with part of northern Spain and more than half of Italy. And the conquest of Saxony carried the Frankish frontier quite up to the Elbe and the country of the Slavonic Wends. Charlemagne died in 814 and his immediate descendants had not the requisite ability for holding together countries inhabited by such different races. In 830 the empire was tottering. By 888 Italy had been severed from Frankish rule. One considerable stretch of territory round Besançon formed Burgundy, and another included the strongly Latinized country of Provence, both separated from northern France. Burgundy itself became divided into two distinct kingdoms. The rest of Charlemagne's territory broke up naturally into Western Francia and Eastern Francia, that is, France on the one hand, and on the other hand a great part of Germany, of which Mainz was nearly the centre. In the western kingdom the language was a corrupted Latin, the Romance which was the forerunner of French. In the eastern kingdom a Teutonic language was spoken, the forerunner of German. The oaths taken at Strasbourg in 842 by the kings Louis the German and Charles the Bald, grandsons of Charlemagne, have been preserved, and form a precious monument of the two languages as they were spoken in the ninth century. From that time forward the idea of one great international empire recedes into the background and is replaced by an increased attachment to race and country.

The crumbling of the Empire and the extension of the Christian faith among the Teutonic races had profound results which can be seen at the end of the Middle Ages and lasted until the most recent times. The words 'Ultramontanism', 'Gallicanism', and 'Anglicanism' are modern enough, but they all represent principles and policies which were actively supported in the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries. There was the attempt to bring all Christendom under the immediate power of

the Pope; there was the wide growth of racial or, more strictly speaking, territorial Churches, under powerful archbishops, and there remained in the British Isles forms of an independent Catholicism, stunted in some directions, highly developed in others, and isolated from the rest of the Christian world. With this exception and that of southern Italy and part of Spain, the whole of the Christian West was both Catholic and touched by Frankish influence. It was also Roman in doctrine and culture. But in government and discipline it was greatly affected by its surroundings, and it was impossible that questions of government should be severed from the questions as to who had the right to govern—Pope or episcopate or civil ruler.

When the Merovingian and Carolingian monarchs, and, we may add, the kings in England, allied themselves with the Church, they expected that the Church would help them. This expectation was strengthened by their knowledge that the Church owned vast and increasing landed estates. The Church had become a great landlord, and the clergy were better educated than the laity and possessed the requisite skill for deriving profit from their estates. The clergy had in principle to submit to the rules of civil justice, pay taxes, and provide military support. If they were exempted, it was due to royal favour. And no bishoprics, abbeys, and parishes could exist in troublous times without state protection. The Church needed the king and the king needed some of the wealth and intelligence of the Church.

Meanwhile the spread of Christianity among the non-Germanic races gave to the emperors, men of German race, fresh opportunities for the increase of their power, both ecclesiastical and civil. They endeavoured to unite these newly converted peoples under the rule of German metropolitans. Thus the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen was founded for the Scandinavians and the people of the Baltic provinces, that of Magdeburg for the Poles and northern Slavs, that of Salzburg for the southern Slavs and Avars. The union within the imperial Frankish Church and its union with the Lombard, Anglo-Saxon, and other Churches was a very real one, but it could not extinguish national aspirations and preferences. The Churches were both national and Catholic.

But Rome on her part was striving to consolidate a greater and a closer union.[1] If the principles of St. Leo and St. Gregory the Great were to be maintained and developed, the whole Church must be highly centralized in the hands of the Pope and the national elements strictly subordinated to the Roman. Archbishops and bishops were to derive all their authority from the Pope; bishops were to be judged by him alone or by his delegates; councils were to be destitute of validity unless they had his sanction. Such was the ideal. It was an ideal which in practice was modified or abandoned. But it was destined to revive and to become eventually accepted by millions of Christian people. Its triumph was in no small degree caused by the notorious literary work known as the False Decretals, although the principles of the work had been maintained before the book appeared.

These False Decretals were published about 850 and probably written at Reims or Tours. The author, who assumed the name of Isidorus Mercator, rearranged a collection of papal decretals and canons of councils, and mixed them with fabrications which he put forward under the names of early bishops of Rome. The constant idea which underlies this strange collection is the absolute and universal supremacy of the Pope and the freedom of the bishops from the civil power, and what was equally important, from the arbitrary control of their archbishops or metropolitans. In this way the unity of the Church was to be secured in spite of the dissolution of the Empire, and the Pope was to exercise over the whole Christian world the office of guardian which had been exercised by the local Church in each Christian kingdom. This amazing document was quickly regarded as authentic and furnished the papacy with a valuable weapon of defence and aggression. The moment for using it, and the man, were both at hand.

In Nicholas I (858–867) Rome had a pontiff of unusual force of character and strong convictions, and for a short time it

[1] As for the sixth century Duchesne says, 'L'Église romaine, si bien établie que fût sa primauté, n'exerçait pas alors en fait, et ne réclamait nullement, dans les patriarcats d'Orient, ni même dans beaucoup de régions de l'Occident, l'autorité qu'elle exerce maintenant dans le monde catholique de toute langue et de toute obédience politique.' *L'Église au VI*ème *siècle*, p. 268 (Fontemoing, Paris, 1925).

seemed that the papacy would exercise all the influence that it had enjoyed in the days of Gregory the Great, and even extend it. He found himself in direct conflict with opposition from the highest quarters in Church and State, and maintained his ground with unflinching determination. Lothair II, the king from which Lotharingia, now Lorraine, takes its name, repudiated his wife, Theutberga, in order to marry his mistress, Waldrada. He tried to justify his conduct by bringing the gravest accusations against his wife. The charge was unproved, but the king's action was supported by councils held at Aix-la-Chapelle and Metz and by the Archbishops of Cologne and Trier. Nicholas summoned the case to Rome, condemned his own envoys for their weakness at Metz, and turned a deaf ear to the prayers of Lothair and even to the representations of Theutberga, which he suspected to have been extorted by force. Waldrada was dismissed and Lothair had to be content with his injured spouse. In this affair, with which the monarchs Louis II, Louis the German, and Charles the Bald were all more or less concerned, the Pope acted as the supreme judge of the Christian world. And his success must be reckoned as one of the greatest triumphs ever won by papal firmness and diplomacy.

Nicholas I was equally drastic in his dealings with John, Archbishop of Ravenna, who had seized properties belonging to other persons, both clerical and lay, and defied the Pope's authority. Nicholas went to Ravenna, heard the complaints of the people, and ordered that their goods should be restored.

His action was less admirable when he opposed the illustrious Hincmar, Archbishop of Reims. In 861 Hincmar, in a provincial council, suspended from episcopal functions his own suffragan, Rothad, Bishop of Soissons. Rothad, though clearly in the wrong, appealed to Rome. Nicholas availed himself of the opportunity of asserting his primacy and compelled Hincmar both to reinstate Rothad and to declare that a bishop can never be deposed without the consent of the Pope. It was during this contest that an appeal was first made to the authority of the False Decretals which by now had been brought to Rome. Nicholas also, in opposing Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople, and supporting the Patriarch Ignatius, asserted in the plainest

terms his right to govern and to teach the whole Church, and did this at a time when Hellenism was vigorous and even brilliant. His interest in the East extended beyond the Byzantine empire, for his famous *Responsio ad Bulgaros* treated many delicate and serious subjects connected with the admission of a barbarous nation into the ranks of the Christian Church. In defending what he believed to be the rights of Rome, and in bravely facing kings in the name of Christ, Nicholas I must be called one of the greatest popes of the ancient undivided Church; and his qualities are thrown into higher relief by the decadence of the age which immediately followed his death.

Hincmar, who became Archbishop of Reims in 844, was for nearly forty years afterwards a tower of strength for the religion of his country. He had been an austere monk of the abbey of Saint-Denis, and as archbishop he was still austere, a vigilant shepherd of his flock. He built a cathedral and a hospital, and founded an excellent school of calligraphy. With his deans, archdeacons, and regular synods he tried to sweep away abuses, and his courageous opposition to the royal adulterer, Lothair II, was a noble protest on behalf of Christian morality. His 'Life of St. Remigius' covered Reims with legendary glories and prepared the way for the future coronation of the kings of France in a later and more lovely cathedral church. In opposing the False Decretals and in objecting to the appointment of the Archbishop of Sens as Primate of the Gauls and Vicar Apostolic of the Pope, Hincmar showed a justifiable zeal for the rights of metropolitans. But he was not more scrupulous in defending the claims of Reims than others were in defending the claims of Rome; and though he has been compared with the Bossuet of a later age, his sense of justice was not united with Bossuet's sense of truth.

The case of Hincmar serves to remind us that the power of the metropolitans, though seriously threatened by the policy and claims of Nicholas I, was at this period important and in some cases increasing. The organization of the Church was being steadily completed, a network of bishoprics was spreading in every direction, and these bishoprics were grouped in a federation of provinces, each under its own metropolitan. When a see

became vacant, clergy and people asked the king for his consent to the nomination of a new bishop. Then a neighbouring bishop, representing both the king and the metropolitan, arrived on the scene. Prayers and fasts were appointed, canons, archdeacons, representatives of the parochial clergy and the monks, with notable laymen, elected a new bishop, the crowd of laity giving their consent by acclamation. The bishop-elect then appeared before the king, who entrusted him with the administration of the goods of the Church if he were satisfied with the election. The people and the king being in agreement, the bishop-elect was examined by the bishops of the province convoked by the metropolitan. His character and his belief were narrowly scrutinized. If the result was satisfactory, he read a formula that contained the Creed, promised to obey his metropolitan, and was then consecrated by him. If the result was unsatisfactory, the metropolitan claimed the right to appoint a new bishop of his own choice.

It was perhaps inevitable that the king should sometimes encroach upon the rights of others, and in 818 the hierarchy tried to obtain from Charlemagne's son and successor, Louis the Pious, a formal declaration of the rights of the clergy and the people in the election of their bishops. Another difficulty arose in connexion with the fact that the bishop-elect had to take an oath of fidelity to the king when the king entrusted him with the temporal property of his see. Had the king only the right to protect, or also the right to dispose of, this ecclesiastical property? The question had hardly become a thorny question as yet, but it was destined to grow into one of serious magnitude in the eleventh century, and it left its mark upon the Church of England at the period of the Reformation.

In addition to questions concerned with the Roman primacy, the ninth century witnessed theological discussions of great interest and importance.

Paschasius Radbertus was for a time Abbot of Corbie near Amiens about 850 and died there about 870. He had an extensive knowedge of Greek theology as well as of the prevalent Augustinianism. He wrote commentaries on St. Matthew and the Lamentations of Jeremiah. But his most famous

work was a treatise 'On the Body and the Blood of the Lord'. Paschasius repeats the teaching of St. Chrysostom to the effect that the centre of the sacrificial worship of Christians is in heaven, and he teaches that when the bread and wine are made to be the body and blood of Christ by the power of the Lord and of the Holy Ghost, they are uplifted to the heavenly sphere, offered by Christ as His own sacrifice, and given by Him to the communicants as supernatural food. While he maintains the spiritual character of the presence of Christ, he insists that the sacramental body of Christ is the very body born of Mary, and that when the bread and wine are consecrated they are wholly and substantially converted into the body and blood of Christ.

The doctrine that the Eucharist is the same body as that which was born of the Virgin and suffered on the Cross, was opposed by Rabanus Maurus, who became Archbishop of Mainz in 847. But the difference between the two writers does not appear to be very deep. Rabanus Maurus held, like Paschasius, that the elements are really and spiritually changed into Christ's flesh and blood, but he desired to emphasize the difference between a natural and a supernatural presence, and supposed that the language of Paschasius did not do justice to that difference.

Ratramnus (d. 868), a monk of Corbie like Paschasius, was also deeply involved in the Eucharistic controversy. His 'Book on the Body and Blood of the Lord' is of especial interest to English students. It was certainly read in England in the tenth century, as it is reproduced in the teaching of Ælfric, who became Abbot of Eynsham near Oxford in 1005. It was highly esteemed by Ridley and therefore had no little influence upon the course of the Reformation in this country. It is not easily understood, and cannot be definitely claimed for the side of Calvin, still less of Zwingli. But Ratramnus unquestionably teaches that the substances of bread and wine are after consecration what they were before, and that the body and blood of Christ are not present in such a way that they can be discerned by the bodily senses, but 'faith receives what it believes', and this is 'the substance of eternal life' and 'the power of the divine Word'.

Another controversy which also foreshadowed those of the

sixteenth century was the dispute about predestination. Gottschalk, a monk of Orbais, reminds us of Luther. He was of a violent disposition and felt ill at ease under the yoke of monastic life. He was an ardent student of St. Augustine, and embraced his sternest teaching with regard to the weakness of the human will, to the efficacy of grace, and to predestination. Like the continental reformers, Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli, he went beyond St. Augustine by teaching that God has predestined some men to damnation. A council held at Kiersy in 849 declared him to be an incorrigible heretic and condemned him to be publicly beaten. He was shut up in a monastery and Hincmar tried to persuade him to recant. He continued to write to his friends, and the controversy became more serious than ever. At last Pope Nicholas I took up the case and summoned Hincmar, who had written against Gottschalk, to a council at Metz, 863. Hincmar did not appear and nothing came of the Pope's action. Gottschalk remained inflexible, and was imprisoned in the monastery of Hautvillers in the diocese of Reims. He died about 868 and was denied the sacraments and even burial in consecrated ground.

John Scotus Eriugena, an Irishman, was the most audacious and original thinker of the ninth century. At the request of Hincmar he wrote a tract 'On Predestination' to refute the views of Gottschalk. In this tract he maintained that God could not predestinate anything that is evil, since evil is only the negation of good and therefore lies outside the knowledge of God; otherwise God would be the cause of evil. This embarrassing theory was condemned as 'Scots porridge' at a council of Valence in 855. The next proof of his activity was the translation of the works of Dionysius the Areopagite [1] into Latin at the request of King Charles the Bald. His most important work was not a translation but a work of five books entitled 'On the Division of Nature'. It is an attempt to erect a gigantic philosophic system of a Neoplatonic type. The vague and fervent teaching of Dionysius is put into a cool and definite form with the help of Aristotle. God transcends all human conceptions and categories to such a degree that whatever quality may be asserted of Him may also be denied. The Persons of the Trinity are

[1] See above, p. 6.

'relative names' and the interpretation of the doctrine of the Trinity is to the effect that the Father wills, the Son creates, the Spirit makes perfect. Our soul reproduces the Trinity. Creation is a necessary revelation of God, the world proceeding from God through His creative ideas. The accounts of the Creation and the Fall in Genesis are allegorical. But we see God revealed in creation, the Father in the being of all things, the Son or Word in the realm of ideas, and the Spirit in the life which gives individuality and at the last draws all things back to the divine unity. Eriugena finds it very difficult to explain the fact of sin. He holds that it is the result of a man thinking that something is good which is not really good, but he excludes it from God's knowledge on the ground that with God to know is to be. If God knew evil, He would be evil. He teaches that at last even the devils will be saved, and all things will rest in God, deified with a knowledge of God which is identical with resumption into the divine essence. This mixture of Platonism and Christianity avowedly placed reason above authority in religion, reason being God thinking in man, and religion one phase of that rational life which is God. For a long time these theories were tolerated, but in 1225 his books 'On the Division of Nature' were suppressed by Pope Honorius III. According to William of Malmesbury, John came to England at the invitation of King Alfred, but there is no evidence to substantiate the tradition. He died about 882, having introduced to the West the mystical and theosophical learning of the East.

The age of the Emperor Louis the Pious and Pope Nicholas I witnessed a fine attempt to bring the Gospel to the races of Scandinavia.

Charlemagne had not entertained the idea of introducing Christianity among the Danes, and in 814 the only two churches which existed in Holstein were at Meldorf and Hamburg. But in 822 Ebo, Archbishop of Reims, after receiving full authority from Louis the Pious and Pope Paschal I, proceeded to Münsterdorf near Itzehoe to act as ambassador and legate. The next year he returned home with a few young Jutes to be educated as teachers of their own countrymen. Shortly afterwards Harald, who claimed the Danish kingdom, was hard pressed by his foes

and determined to seek the aid of the Franks and to renounce all connexion with paganism. In 826 he arrived with his wife and child at Mainz, where he was met by Louis and received baptism with much attendant pomp. Soon after his return he was followed by Ansgar, a young Frankish monk, who had been educated at the monastery of Old Corbie and was made superior of the monastery of New Corbie in 822. He was accompanied on his missionary journey by a brother monk named Autbert. They founded a school on the frontiers of Slesvig, bought and educated Danish slave youths, and preached in the neighbouring country. The next year Harald was driven out of the country and took refuge in the territory of Louis. The two missionaries also left their mission and Autbert died at Corbie. Ansgar, however, went with several companions to Sweden and arrived there after being plundered by Norse pirates. He was well received by King Bjorn, and a church and school were built at Birca. He went back to the Frankish coast to secure a better basis for his work, which was rendered easier by the peace made between the emperor and the Danes in 831. In 834 Louis and Pope Gregory IV appointed Ansgar Archbishop of Hamburg and endowed the new see with the revenues of the rich abbey of Turholt in Flanders. Ansgar, who was to devote himself to work in the North, built a cathedral and a monastery, bought Danish boys to educate for the ministry, and sent Gauzbert and other missionaries to the Swedes.

Then disaster followed disaster. Louis the Pious died in 840, Harald apostatized, the pagan Swedes drove out Gauzbert and his companions, and in 845 the Norse fell upon Hamburg and obliterated church, monastery, and library. To crown all these misfortunes, Charles the Bald, the son of Louis, seized the abbey of Turholt and presented it to a favourite. Ansgar was now a homeless beggar, and when he asked shelter from Leuterich, Bishop of Bremen, he was turned from the door. But he was not without friends. A nobleman's widow gave him a lodging, and when Leuterich died, in 846, King Louis the German, grandson of Charlemagne, appointed him to the bishopric of Bremen, which Pope Nicholas I united with that of Hamburg and made independent of Cologne. The attempts made to gather together the fragments of the Swedish mission, broken up by Gauzbert's

expulsion, failed until Ansgar went to Sweden himself and continued to work there until his death, in 865. He had in the meantime gained a hearing for Christianity in Denmark, being on good terms first with King Horic and afterwards with his successor, Horic the Younger. The outward results of his labour were not very great. He left a church in Slesvig and Ripen (Ribe), and one at Birca, gained some adherents among the nobles and trading classes, and trained a few young Danes for the priesthood. Norway remained untouched, and though his work was continued by his disciple and biographer Rimbert, it was before long shattered by the raids of the vikings. In the next century Archbishop Unni of Bremen (d. 936) resumed mission work in Denmark and Sweden, and definite progress was made under the English priests who arrived there early in the eleventh century. The story of the spread of Christianity in Scandinavia is a story of many perils and vicissitudes; and though St. Ansgar effected little, and never won the crown of martyrdom which he desired, his hard and self-sacrificing life is one of the many beacon-fires of a troubled age.

The growing intellectual life of the Western nations, and their growing national consciousness, lead us to reflect upon certain contrasts between Eastern and Western Christendom in the period before their disruption in 1054.

For a long time in the Eastern world the Gospel was first preached among civilized nations. Most of the early missionaries spoke Greek. But it was never probable that the Egyptians, Syrians, and Armenians would be completely Hellenized, for they had a national culture of their own, and the great majority of them left the Orthodox Church to go their own way. The conversion of the semi-barbarous Slavs changed the situation. It sounded the knell of a Greek numerical predominance, but it prepared for the extension of Greek worship and Greek theology. Oriental Christian belief, persecuted and crushed as it is to-day, remains in a condition similar to that which it occupied when the Russians became Christian. Since that great event such protests as have been made against the Patriarch of Constantinople have seldom been made against his doctrine. The heretics made their protests long before the eleventh century; whereas

the orthodox accept his doctrine even if they dislike his methods. The Bulgarian in Sofia and the Arab Christian in Damascus have little love for Greek politicians, but they do not dispute with the Greek patriarch about creeds and catechisms.

If we turn to the West, we observe that in the fourth century, when the Egyptians, Syrians, and a large proportion of the Armenians were still orthodox as well as civilized, almost the only Teutonic Christians were both heretical and semi-barbarous. And when these races, from about A.D. 500 onwards, began to accept Catholic Christianity, the organization of the Church was complete, and the nets of that organization were so widely flung that they all were caught in its meshes. In some cases the different tribes were scattered over districts where Roman cities were still the centres of Christian life, where bishops and people spoke a debased Latin, and where the better educated could read Cicero and the Vulgate. The Latin language proved a powerful connecting link between different peoples. The Romance of France and the dialects spoken in Germany were far behind English as a language of culture in the eighth century. There was therefore all the more need for a common continental language, and this language could only be Latin, which was used in both church and school.

This unity of organization and culture under the authority of Rome became menaced when the kings of the newly converted races became Catholic. So long as they remained Arian or heathen, they might be indifferent towards the internal affairs of the Church and the spiritual claims of bishops and popes over their subjects. But when they became Catholics, they regarded themselves as 'the Lord's anointed', and wished to limit the influence of the Pope in their respective dominions. A well-known instance in the seventh century is the opposition of King Egfrid and his Witan to the Pope's division of the dioceses in the north of England. The national feeling was also stimulated by vigorous bishops like Hincmar, men who governed dioceses incomparably larger than the primitive dioceses of Italy and Greece, and often occupied a leading place in the councils of the realm.

In the eighth century this tendency towards decentralization began to be checked by the pressure of a new bond of unity.

The protection exercised over the Church by Pepin 'the Short', Charlemagne, and Louis the Pious seemed likely to secure a union between Church and State similar to that which had existed in the days of Constantine and Theodosius, the Church being at one with herself and yet dependent upon the emperor. The dependence might even have caused the Church to lose her balance. For Rome was not what Rome had been. The rise of the northern nations and the spread of Islam along the shores of the Mediterranean left Rome almost on the circumference of Christian civilization. In 846 a band of Saracen pirates landed on the right bank of the Tiber, and, although they were unable to break through the walls of Rome, they sacked the basilica of St. Peter and appear to have escaped unmolested with their valuable spoils. At the end of the ninth century Rome appeared to be sinking into the condition of a merely provincial Church. With the fall of the Carolingian dynasty the Church once more began to vary in accordance with national characteristics.

The result of the Carolingian settlement was nevertheless profound. The Emperor secured the right of intervening in papal elections, a right which was exercised in 1903 when the Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria intervened at the time of the election of Pope Pius X. On the other hand, the Pope crowned the Emperor, and in the Middle Ages it was naturally believed that the imperial crown could only be granted by the Pope. The chief of bishops and the chief of kings came to be the two pivots on which the history of Europe turned.

The worship and discipline of the Church were also affected. The primitive Roman Apostles' Creed, modified in countries to the north of Rome, was adopted by the Roman Church in this modified form before A.D. 700, and was promulgated throughout the West by Boniface and other Benedictine missionaries. The old Latin mass books of Gaul were supplanted by the Roman rite of St. Gregory, though the old rite of Spain still lingers at Toledo. On the other hand, the Roman rite, austere, dignified, and biblical, soon absorbed an abundance of northern elements and lost much of its simplicity. From remote ages the Roman has been conservative in worship. In heathen days he preserved more faithfully than other Aryans the rites of prehistoric times; and within the Christian, as within the

pagan period, it has usually happened that everything that is least primitive in Roman worship has been gradually imported into Rome from other and distant regions.

The process of blending different rites had the approval of Charlemagne himself. He had, it has been well said, 'the ruler's instinct'. He had the wisdom to see that the purely Roman missal would seem severe to more sensitive and emotional natures. He therefore promptly caused it to be enriched with a supplement of additions selected from the liturgical books already in use in France.[1] It is probable, and more than probable, that Alcuin was the compiler of this supplement to the Gregorian missal, and that an Englishman was therefore in a large measure responsible for the richness and exuberance of the medieval and modern Roman rite. The process did not end with Charlemagne. During the ninth century the study of sacred rites became a fashionable pursuit in France. Not only Charlemagne himself, but his son also, Louis the Pious, and his grandson, Charles the Bald, were deeply interested in this branch of theological science. Liturgiology was the pastime of emperors.

[1] See Edmund Bishop, *Liturgica Historica*, pp. 1 ff. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1918).

VII

THE SLAVS AND THEIR MISSIONS

BEFORE considering the conversion of the Slavs, it is necessary to bring before our minds the map of central and eastern Europe from the seventh to the ninth century, as well as the modern divisions of the Slavonic races. These modern divisions are: (i) the great north-eastern branch, the Slavs of Russia; (ii) the north-western branch, which includes the Poles, the Czecho-Slovaks of Bohemia and Moravia, and some broken fragments in the east of Germany, known as the Sorbs or Wends, Kashubians, and others; (iii) the southern branch, which includes the Slovenes of Carinthia to the north-east of the Adriatic, the Croats, who come close to the Adriatic, and the Serbs, whose language is almost identical with that of the Croats. In spite of the traditional hostility which exists between the Bulgarians and the Serbs, the Bulgarians, a Turanian race by origin, are, in their language and civilization, Southern Slavs.

The original home of the Slavs was probably near the Vistula and the Pripet marshes, from which they spread in all directions. By about 700 they had reached their extreme western limits. The broken fragments of Slavonic races in modern Germany are the remains of tribes which then extended nearly as far west as Hamburg. They followed the course of the Elbe southward to Magdeburg, past Halle. Not only were Gnesen, Breslau, and Leipzig Slavonic, but Slavs also covered districts such as Brandenburg and Pomerania, now typically German. The eastern part of East Prussia was occupied by the Lithuanians, primitive cousins of the Slavs, and the heart of East Prussia belonged to a warlike and barbarous tribe akin to the Lithuanians. These were the Pruzi, who were not converted until the thirteenth century. Their language was understood by a few people as late as 1684. When George I came to England from Hanover in 1714, a Slavonic language, Polabish, still lingered in his Hanoverian territory.

The above facts indicate that a vast Slavonic region, now called by German names, was left untouched by St. Boniface and other missionaries of Teutonic speech. And south-east of

this great region, the settlement near the Danube of the Southern Slavs, and of Ural-Altaic tribes such as the Avars and Huns, had erected a thick wall of paganism between the Latin and the Byzantine provinces of the Christian Church.

The Southern Slavs, strictly so-called, must first claim our attention, and then the Moravians and the Bulgarians.

The Croats, moving towards Dalmatia, were the most western of the three great streams of Slavs which penetrated into the Balkan peninsula early in the seventh century. The second stream moved in the direction of Thessalonica, and the third towards Bulgaria, occupying districts which had been previously laid waste by the Avars. In the eighth century large numbers of the central horde of Slavs penetrated into the heart of Greece, and threatened to confine the Greek language and the Christian religion to the cities, just as the Teutonic tribes had threatened to shut up Roman civilization and Catholicism in the cities of the West. The Slavs in Greece, however, became quickly Hellenized, learning Greek as the Western barbarians learnt Latin, and in the ninth century they became Christian, during the reigns of the Emperors Michael III and Basil I.

The heroic defence of Constantinople in 626, when the subjects of the Emperor Heraclius repelled the huge forces of the Khagan of the Avars, secured the Balkans against future Avar molestation. The Avars, who had become a coalition of different races, were by this time a prey to internal dissensions, and among the peoples who were making good their own independence of the Avars were the Slavs within the Empire. The Croats and Serbs became in the time of Heraclius recognized and legalized vassals of the emperor, and welcomed teachers of the Christian religion. Some of the first converts were probably under the authority of the Bishop of Salona, who resided at Spalato after Salona was sacked by Avars and Slavs early in the seventh century. Others, farther east, were under the Bishop of Justiniana Prima, near the modern Skoplje, and later under the Bishop of Thessalonica. All these bishoprics were subject to Roman rule, though all did not employ the Western rite. Pope Gregory the Great had asserted his authority even over Justiniana Prima, to which city, as being his own birthplace, the

Emperor Justinian had given primatial rights over northern Illyricum. The Croats, who were near to the Dalmatian towns which were Roman in origin and speech and faith, began to adopt Christianity in the seventh century, after the example of their Prince Porga. In the ninth century the work of their conversion was outwardly complete. Most of them became, and have remained, firmly attached to Rome, and in certain towns on the Adriatic Rome permitted the Roman mass to be celebrated in Slavonic, the liturgical books being until recently printed in the ancient Slavonic script known as Glagolitic.[1] The Slovenes of Carinthia were under the rule of the Franks and formed part of the East Frankish Empire. They were reached by Latin priests who came from Salzburg and Passau in the eighth century, partly in order to minister to Bavarian settlers and their dependents.

The vicissitudes of Christianity among the ancient Serbs were more varied than among the Croats and Slovenes.

The first priests who laboured among the Serbs were apparently Latin. And not only do the names of some ancient Serbian princes and the dedication of certain churches point to contact with the West, but a few quasi-religious terms in Serbian still indicate the same origin. Such words are *oltar* (sanctuary = altare), *pogan* (unclean = paganus), and *raka* (tomb or shrine = arca). The Latin priests were replaced by Greek priests about 732, in the time of Leo the Isaurian, when the region occupied by the Serbs was taken from Rome and attached to Constantinople. The work of Latin and Greek missionaries failed to be permanent, probably on account of their ignorance of Slavonic and their failure to provide church services in a language understood by the people. In the first half of the ninth century the Serbs to a great extent relapsed into paganism, and their second conversion did not take place until the time of the Emperor Basil the Macedonian (867–886). The first four years of Basil's reign were occupied with military operations against the Saracens. His fleet helped to free Ragusa, which was then being besieged by the Saracens, and he thereby

[1] The Slavonic language is still permitted in places where the Roman rite is used in Jugoslavia. The Missal has been officially printed in Roman type, the canon of the Mass in both Roman and Glagolitic.

strengthened his influence on the shores of the Adriatic. Impressed by the masterful energy of their benefactor, and alarmed by the threatening power of the Bulgars, the Serbs placed themselves under the suzerainty of Basil and accepted the religion of Byzantium. Missionaries were sent from Constantinople and made Ragusa their headquarters. The Serbian bishopric of Raška was probably founded about 870.

During the quarrel which broke out between Rome and Constantinople in the matter of the rival patriarchs, Photius and Ignatius, Mutimir, the Prince of Serbia, appealed to Rome for the royal crown and insignia. It is probable, but not certain, that this was the Mutimir 'dux Sclaviniae', to whom Pope John VIII sent a letter about 873, asking him to follow the example of his ancestors and to turn back to the ecclesiastical province of Pannonia, 'where now, by the help of God, the new metropolitan is appointed'. The result of these negotiations with Rome is unknown, as Serbia hardly mattered at this time, when the question whether Bulgaria should belong to the Pope or to the Patriarch was hotly discussed between the two pontiffs. Serbia, from the time of its second conversion to the beginning of the eleventh century, was governed sometimes by the Greeks and sometimes by the Bulgarians, and in consequence was sometimes under the spiritual authority of the Patriarch of Constantinople and sometimes under that of the head of the Bulgarian Church. A little later, every effort which the Serbs made to gain political freedom meant an approximation to Rome; for to obtain support from the West in their struggle against the Greeks, the Serbs were obliged to recognize the Pope as their spiritual head. They had to choose between an Emperor and a Pope. They desired neither, but, owing to their geographical position, they could not do without one or other of them.

The real master-builder of the Serbian Church was St. Sava, whose life is full of dramatic movement and colour. His original name was Rastko, and he was the youngest son of the 'great chief' (veliki župan) of Serbia, Stephen Nemanja. On a visit to his father's court he met a monk who described with such fervour the monastic 'angelic' life on Mount Athos that the youth, under pretence of hunting, escaped to Athos and entered the Russian

monastery of St. Panteleimon. His father sent soldiers to pursue him and they discovered his refuge. He met them, begged them to stay the night and return with him the next day. He then persuaded them to attend the midnight service and they consented, but tired with their journey they fell asleep in the church. In the meantime Rastko took the monastic vows in the monastery tower and received the new name of Sava, and when the morning came sent the soldiers away with his rich lay clothes and a letter to his parents.

Henceforth Sava appears repeatedly as the leading spirit amid his people. He was instrumental in founding the Serbian monastery of Chilendar on Mount Athos and vigorously promoted monasticism and learning. He took an equally active and useful part in political affairs, which were imperilled by divisions at home and Hungarian jealousy abroad. In the year 1219 he was consecrated the first (autonomous) Archbishop of Serbia at Constantinople by the Patriarch. He divided the country into eight dioceses, exclusive of his own see of Žiča, and instructed the clergy in their duties. In 1220 his brother Stephen was crowned as 'king' with a royal crown which was procured from the Pope in order to weaken Hungarian and Latin opposition. He visited the Holy Land, everywhere celebrating the liturgy and distributing alms, and he bought from the Saracens the monastery of John the Baptist in the Jordan valley. In 1233 he appointed his own successor and afterwards again went to Jerusalem. On his way home he fell ill, stayed a few days at Constantinople, and died at Trnovo in Bulgaria on January the 13th, 1236. His body was taken to Serbia and buried at Mileševo. It was removed to Belgrad in March 1594 and a month later it was burnt by the Turks.

The conversion of the Moravians is an event of capital importance in the religious history of central Europe. The Moravians had been forced in 803 to pay tribute to the Franks, and missionaries were sent to them from the sees from which evangelists had gone to the Slovenes. Their success was very slight; the people disliked them as the servants of foreign nobles and the comrades of greedy soldiers. In the middle of the century the country became independent under the native

prince Ratislav, who desired to have a Christian Church independent of the Franks and in connexion with Constantinople rather than with Rome.

Ratislav visited Constantinople in person in 863 and requested that Christian teachers should be sent to Moravia. The Emperor Michael III (847–867) chose as these teachers Constantine (afterwards named Cyril) and Methodius. These two brothers were natives of the district of Thessalonica, a district which then abounded with Slavs. It is possible that they were themselves Slavs, as many Slavs had by that time gained a high social position. Methodius was governor of a Macedonian Slav district before he entered the monastic order, a man of practical mind and skill in administration. Constantine had been educated at the Imperial School, he was librarian of the Patriarchate, and a lecturer in philosophy. He had already distinguished himself as a missionary and preacher among the Jews and Muslims of the Khazars, a Finnish Ugrian race to the north of the Black Sea. For the Slavs he invented the alphabet known as Glagolitic, which in later times was replaced by the Greek alphabet with a few additional characters. The brothers translated the Psalms, the liturgy, and parts of the New Testament into a southern form of the Old Slavonic language, a rich language which at that period was on the eve of breaking up into the different Slavonic languages of later times.

In Moravia the brothers preached the Gospel for more than four years. By using the vernacular language in the services of the Church, they won a conspicuous success among the Moravians. The Frankish and Italian priests having attacked them for their innovation, they went to Rome in 867 and showed to Pope Hadrian II the books which they used in their church services. The Pope approved, and dismissed them with his blessing. Constantine, who on his death-bed took the name of Cyril, died in Rome in 869, and Methodius was then consecrated Bishop of Pannonia. He was thrown into prison as the result of the action of the German clergy, but released at the request of Pope John VIII in 873. He was then made Archbishop of Pannonia and Moravia, and converted the Bohemian Prince Borivoy and his wife. He died on April the 6th, 885. For a time the Moravian Church was Eastern. But the vigorous

Moravian King Svatopluk (d. 894) from being a friend of Methodius became his opponent, and a new Pope, Stephen V (d. 891) forbade the use of the Slavonic liturgy. Under Svatopluk it seemed probable that the Southern Slavs might be joined with the North-western Slavs in one great kingdom opposed to the Germans. But early in the tenth century the Church and the kingdom both disappeared in consequence of the invasion of the heathen Ural-Altaic tribe, the Magyars. Then came Czech settlers from Bohemia, and in the next century Moravia was simply a Bohemian province, connected with the Western Church. The Slavonic liturgy, banished from Moravia, was destined to have incalculable influence as the liturgy of the Serbs, Bulgarians, and Russians down to the present day.[1] The Rumanians also employed it until the seventeenth century, when they began to use Rumanian translations of the Slavonic liturgical books. For a long time the books of the Serbians and the Croats alike were written in the language of Cyril and Methodius, though first the alphabet and then the language underwent a change, and in the twelfth century we find Serbian recensions of Old Slavonic books.

After the death of Svatopluk the disciples of Cyril and Methodius in Moravia had to encounter a strong and bitter opposition, and were expelled from Moravia at the instigation of the German clergy. Some went to Serbia and Dalmatia. Others took refuge in Bulgaria, where they were well received and did good work on the Macedonian borders of the Bulgarian kingdom.

The conversion of Bulgaria, like that of Moravia, may be considered a jewel in the crown of the Church of Constantinople.

In the early years of the ninth century Christianity had made some way among the Bulgars, and under King Boris I (d. 907) it became the State religion of the country. Placed between the Christian Greek empire and Christian Moravia, he saw that he could not safely remain a pagan. Political motives did not ex-

[1] By a strange mistake on the part of the Slavs, the Greek word for the 'Orthodox' is represented by the Slavonic word 'Pravoslavni', the Greek word δόξα having been taken to mean 'glory' and not 'opinion'. Therefore Slavonic Orthodox Christians regard themselves in the first place as those who give glory to God in the right way rather than those who hold the true doctrine of God.

clude more pious incentives, and the arguments of his Christian sister and a captive monk are said to have paved the way for his conversion. He was baptized according to the Greek rite in 864, the Emperor Michael III acting as his sponsor. Eastern missionaries flocked to Bulgaria, and Boris crushed the opposition of his heathen nobility. Perplexed by small religious differences and annoyed by the reluctance of the Patriarch Photius to appoint a bishop for Bulgaria, he turned to Rome. Like Ratislav, he wished for order in the Church, but preferred that the centre of organization should not be too near himself. As Ratislav invoked the help of Constantinople, so Boris invoked the help of Pope Nicholas I, asking him to send a bishop and priests, and to give an authoritative answer to no less than 106 theological and social questions.

Pope Nicholas I then sent to Bulgaria Formosus, afterwards Pope, with suitable replies to the questions, both serious and ludicrous, devised by the brain of the Bulgarian prince. He promised that there should be a bishop and later an archbishop. The Patriarch Photius denounced this interference of Rome in Bulgaria; and as the new Pope Hadrian II would not nominate as archbishop a priest recommended by Boris, the Bulgarian turned his petitions again towards the East. An archbishop and ten bishops were the reward of this request, and the wisdom of it was recommended to the nation by the introduction of the Slavonic liturgy. Boris also sent his son Symeon to study in Constantinople. A vigorous educational movement began under the influence of Clement, a disciple of Cyril and Methodius, who founded a monastery at Achrida, which was made the seat of a bishopric in 879. Boris himself retired to a monastery in 888. He left it temporarily to depose his dissolute son Vladimir about four years afterwards, and died in the odour of sanctity after placing Symeon upon the throne.

Symeon's classical education, and his fondness for translating the works of St. Athanasius and St. Chrysostom, proved no hindrance to his military prowess. After some varying fortunes of war, he conquered the Magyars and inflicted crushing defeats upon the Greeks. He was lord of both Adrianople and Belgrad, and assumed the title of 'Tsar of the Bulgarians and Greeks'. As a natural corollary of this assumption of an imperial title by

the Bulgarian prince, the Bulgarian archbishop became 'Patriarch'. This patriarchate, which came to include about forty bishoprics, was recognized by the Greek Emperor Romanus I in 927, the year of Symeon's death.

The Churches of Bulgaria and Serbia were soon afflicted by a heresy which bore a considerable resemblance to Manichaeism. The presbyter Kosma, who lived in the tenth century, ascribes the origin of the heresy to one Bogumil ('dear to God'), who lived in the days of the Orthodox Tsar Peter of Bulgaria. The heresy was strongly dualistic. The good God created the spiritual world; the rebel Satanailo, the evil god, created the material world in order to live in it. To save those men who had not yielded to Satanailo God sent His Logos, Michael the archangel, who assumed a phantom body and deceived Satanailo. Satanailo had deceived Moses when giving him the ten commandments, so the Old Testament was rejected except the Psalms. The New Testament was accepted, but the Church with its hierarchy and sacraments was repudiated, together with the veneration of saints and icons. Prayers were said in private houses. At first the Bogumili had no regular ministry, though in the twelfth century they had a supreme ruler or pope, called 'Djed' ('grandfather'), and still later they are known to have had elders. Every member of the sect might become a teacher, and if a teacher he usually had twelve followers. Persons who expressed a wish to enter the community were solemnly received after undergoing a discipline of fasts, prayers, and confession. By preaching and by writing an active propaganda was carried on, the whole system and organization of the Greek Church was opposed, and the preachers of the 'new faith', by their strongly democratic principles, and their advocacy of Slavonic nationalism, gained a firm hold among the Slavs of the Balkan peninsula. They retained their influence in Serbia for two centuries, until they were crushed by Stephen Nemanja. In the meantime the Bogumili had carried their teaching to the West. The so-called 'Cathari' of Toulouse were in communication with the Eastern Bogumili in 1223 and the connexion appears to date back two centuries earlier.

After mentioning the Southern Slavs and the Bulgarians, it is necessary to say a little about the Rumanians and the Magyars.

The origin of the Rumanians has been keenly debated and it remains in considerable obscurity. They appear to be in the main the descendants of a people Latin in speech, and partly Roman in origin, who dwelt south of the Danube in the present Jugoslavia before the arrival of the Slavs. Shattered by this invasion, some maintained a nomad life in the different Balkan countries through which their descendants still wander, and are called by their neighbours *Vlachs*. Others, after living among the Slavs long enough to have their language loaded with Slavonic words, passed to the north of the Danube some time before the twelfth century, and absorbed any remnants of their Rumanian kinsmen who may possibly have survived the different waves of barbarian conquerors which had crossed over the present country of Rumania. There is no ancient Rumanian literature, and the language of the Church services was, as we have noted, Slavonic until the seventeenth century. They still retain some pagan Roman customs, but it can be assumed that south of the Danube they were Christians before the Slavs arrived. It is remarkable that the Rumanians are the only large body of Christians who speak a Romance language but are outside the Roman communion.

The land now called Hungary was partly in the possession of Slavs when, in 895, the Magyars, a fierce Ural-Altaic tribe akin to the Finns, poured into its fertile plains. They were seeking a new country after being heavily defeated by the Bulgarian Tsar Symeon. This intrusion of an alien race had an immediate and permanent effect upon European history and religion. It planted a new nation, heathen, but destined soon to become Christian, in such a position as to divide the Southern Slavs from the Slavs of Germany and Poland, and it caused the collapse of the Moravian kingdom. The result was that all the Western Slavs were cut away from Constantinople and the Eastern Church, and became impelled towards the influences of German civilization and Western Catholicism. These two streams of influence, German and Roman, became supreme within less than a hundred years after the Magyars entered Hungary, and were united in the person of the great German Emperor Otto I (d. 973). The Magyars were decisively defeated by him in 955, and then began to turn their aspirations towards

something better than constant raids of savage warfare. Their Prince Géza, who had married a Christian wife, made friendly overtures to Otto I. The result was the arrival of Christian immigrants and missionaries, the most important of whom was Bishop Pilgrim of Passau (d. 991). Géza was converted and also his young son and successor, who was given the name of Stephen. Benedictine monks arrived in 995 and the work of conversion and civilization made rapid progress. That the missionaries were mostly Slavs, and probably Bohemian, is shown by the presence of Slavonic ecclesiastical words in the Magyar language. King Stephen (d. 1038) occupies a high rank in the band of Christian monarchs and won the title of saint. He is said to have received from Pope Silvester II, in 1000, a royal crown, and he obtained papal sanction for the ecclesiastical organization of his kingdom under the metropolitan see of Gran. Out of a gang of freebooters he formed a civilized state. In legislation and administration he followed German and, to a less extent, Slavonic models, and by bringing the Magyars within the sphere of Christianity he saved them from the ruin which overtook the once terrible race of Avars.

Farther north Otto I (see p. 100) vigorously furthered the spread of Christianity among the Slavonic tribes known as Wends, who covered a wide extent of territory between the rivers Elbe, Saale, Oder, and Warthe. He made Magdeburg the seat of an archbishopric in 968 and it was in the monastery of Magdeburg that St. Adalbert of Prague, whose Slavonic name was Voytech, received his education. He was chosen to be the second bishop of Prague by the Emperor Otto II in 983, and received from him his investiture at Verona, and was consecrated by Willigis, Archbishop of Mainz, his metropolitan. He proved a strict censor of morals, and exerted himself to put down concubinage, polygamy, and other heathen practices. The Czechs were repelled by his severity and he left the country, taking refuge in the calm devotion that prevailed in the Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino. After a while he returned to Prague and founded a Benedictine monastery not far from the city. But his stay in his see was only brief. Many of his family were murdered, being suspected on account of their connexion with the Poles and

Germans, and he was treated with scorn. He therefore felt himself free to undertake missionary work elsewhere, and departed with two companions to preach the Gospel to the heathen Prussians in North Germany. There he was killed in 997 by a heathen priest; and though he cannot be called an apostle, he was an evangelist and martyr.

Bohemia aided the progress of Christianity among the Poles. The Poles on the Vistula first learned Christianity in the tenth century from monks of the Eastern Church. And late in that century Prince Mieszko, who had married a Christian Bohemian wife, was baptized by her chaplain Jordan, who became the first bishop of Posen. Mieszko's son Boleslaus Chrobry (d. 1025) combined his Christian convictions with very shrewd political insight. He made Gnesen a metropolitan see, severing it from the jurisdiction of Magdeburg, and transferred to it the relics of the martyr St. Adalbert of Prague, relics which the Emperor Otto III came to venerate in 1000. Under Gnesen he placed the bishoprics of Cracow, Breslau, and Kohlberg. None of these had been Polish cities, though all were Slavonic; the two former being Czech, while Kohlberg was situated amid the Slavs of Pomerania. Boleslaus hoped to form a compact Polish Church which should be the Church of the large empire which he was building to resist the German advance from the West. His hopes were fruitless. Very soon after his death the enemies of Poland shattered his empire and a violent pagan reaction attended its downfall. Poland was reduced to a wilderness dotted with ruined churches. After much difficulty, Duke Casimir consolidated Church and State for a time. Boleslaus II also recovered some of Poland's lost provinces. But his lust, cruelty, and avarice brought him into collision with the Church, and he was excommunicated by St. Stanislaus, Bishop of Cracow, who placed the churches of the city under an interdict. Having vainly urged his satellites to kill the bishop, Boleslaus slew him with his own hand in the chapel of St. Michael, May the 8th, 1079. Thus another Slavonic country had its own national martyr, and Stanislaus became to Poland what Thomas Becket became to England.

The creation of Russia depended upon the union of two

different factors. The first was the migration, probably beginning in the seventh century of the Christian era, which brought a body of Slavs from the south-west of modern Russia to the north and to the south-east. These Slavs became simple agricultural people, making their little farms and villages amid the forests. The second factor was the great river Dnieper, which with its different branches formed a waterway connecting the Baltic with the Black Sea, the Scandinavians with the Greeks. Along the river there were built trading centres from which furs, honey, and wax could be sent to the South, and in the ninth century Swedish companies, the so-called Varangians, travelled along the Dnieper to Byzantium. Some of them remained in the Russian towns, and entered the military service of the Russians. The name 'Rus' was originally the name of these hardy and adventurous Swedes, who first established themselves near Novgorod. It can hardly be doubted that in some cases they were invited by Slavonic and Finnish tribes to help them to settle their quarrels, but they began before long to rule over their hosts. They extended their power in different directions and they conquered Kiev. The importance of Kiev can be proved by the fact that in 860 the Princes of Kiev sent, though they sent in vain, a predatory fleet of two hundred ships to attack Constantinople. Another expedition against Constantinople resulted in a treaty which conceded great advantages to Russian merchants in Constantinople.

In 945 another treaty with the Greeks was made by Igor, the first historical Russian prince who is mentioned in contemporary foreign sources. This treaty shows that there were Christians among the followers of Igor; and we find from the Russian Chronicle that there was a cathedral at Kiev dedicated to St. Elias. Igor's widow, Olga, was already a Christian before she visited Constantinople in 957. She was the first Christian princess in Russia. Olga's grandson Vladimir I, a great prince and warrior, was destined to be the Clovis of his country. He invaded Byzantine territory, took Cherson, threatened Constantinople with his fleet, and obtained in marriage Anna, a sister of the Emperor Basil II, on condition of his accepting Christianity and sending an army to assist Basil. A story as picturesque as some of the stories of the introduction of Christianity among

the English, tells how he received emissaries from various religions, Muslims, Jews, Western Christians, and at last a monk from Greece, and was deeply moved when the monk showed to him a picture of the Last Judgement. The story continues that he sent delegates to visit these religions in their various homes. They went last to Constantinople, and were so much overwhelmed with the beauty of the service in the majestic church of St. Sophia that they declared, 'No man who has once tasted what is sweet will afterwards take what is bitter'.

Vladimir was baptized in 988, and after his return to Kiev hurled the idol of the thunder-god into the Dnieper, and declared that he would treat as his enemy any one who refused to be baptized. His people did not refuse; and they were baptized by the Greek clergy, who named them in droves. A metropolitan came from Constantinople in 991 to be the head of the Russian Church. After 1040 Kiev was the seat of the metropolitans. For more than two hundred years they were almost always Greeks, though in 1051 Hilarion, a native Russian, was appointed. His discourse 'On Grace and the Law' is one of the most ancient monuments of Russian literature and is written in the style of the later Greek rhetoricians. In spite of their Greek nationality the metropolitans formed a permanent and civilizing element in the midst of the quarrelsome independent principalities into which the country was divided. Kiev, as the home of the grand-prince, the head of a great family of princes, and as the centre of clerical and monastic life, did something to arrest Russian disintegration until the death of Yaroslav the Great, in 1054. After that year, the year of the fatal division of the Eastern and Western Churches, Kiev was repeatedly pillaged, and for a time the centre of political and commercial activities was Novgorod.

A few years earlier than 1054 there was built the stately cathedral of St. Sophia at Kiev. Not only does its name recall the great church at Constantinople which excited the wonder of Vladimir's emissaries. It is itself a noble monument of Greek Byzantine art, a square church with five apses and many domes. The great fresco of the head of Christ the Almighty, and the mosaic of His mother with her hands raised in prayer, are among the master-

pieces of the eleventh century. These and the pictures of Greek fathers of the Church are of dignified severity. But the Greek artists allowed themselves some freedom on the staircase of the church, which they adorned with scenes from the hippodrome. The church is an embodiment on Russian soil of Byzantine tradition, a tradition that was never wholly lost amid the exuberant fantasies of later Russian art. In fact this tradition really enabled Russia to be herself. The Russian people while in its youth was grafted into the tree of a rich and ancient culture. It needed the support of this culture. In time to come Russia was to experience the influence of Poland and Italy, Germany, Holland, and France. Under these various influences it could not have developed its own spiritual life and consciousness if it had not possessed something which protected it from within, and this something was the orthodox faith. It is because of this faith that the good Russian believes, in spite of all obstacles, in 'holy Russia', a land beloved by God and with a vocation to fulfil.

VIII

ROME AND GERMANY: EAST AND WEST SEPARATE

AFTER the death of Pope Nicholas I, in 867, the papacy began to decline to depths which it had never touched before, and the celebrated historian Cardinal Baronius described the period of 867 to 962 as 'the age of iron'. It might with greater fitness be called 'the age of clay'. Italy was divided into different small states, the Arabs were in possession of Sicily, and the papacy was at the mercy of petty Italian dynasties and the Roman nobility. The pontiffs were first under the domination of the noble house of Spoleto, the head of which was Wido, who induced Pope Stephen V to crown him as Emperor of Italy. Wido, nicknamed Rabies on account of his furious temper, married Agiltrude, a woman of insatiable ambition, whose father boasted that he had struck Louis II. The pair ruled Rome together, and the geographical position of Spoleto helped them to profit by the troubles of the peninsula. Pope Formosus crowned Lambert, son of Wido, but with singular folly tried to make amends for his action by inviting the German king Arnulf to deliver him from the 'bad Christians' by whom he was surrounded. Arnulf arrived, was crowned in St. Peter's, and died shortly afterwards from a stroke of paralysis.

Then for eight years (896 to 904) there were nine different popes. Agiltrude forced Pope Stephen VI to have the body of his predecessor Formosus disinterred, placed in a chair, stripped of its vestments, and thrown into a common grave, whence it was taken by the populace to be thrown into the Tiber.

The decline of the influence of Spoleto was followed by a still more odious and degrading domination, the so-called 'pornocracy' inaugurated by Theophylact, a Roman noble, and his wife Theodora. This infamous woman, and her daughters Theodora and Marozia, kept in their own hands the elections to the papal chair, and are still remembered in Roman tradition as 'the three bad women'. The Popes Sergius III, Anastasius III, and John X were all chosen by these women; the first was a paramour of Marozia, the second was her son. The third,

having shown some signs of independence, was cast into prison by Marozia and suffocated with a pillow.

We must now consider the new relations between Germany and Rome. Pope John XII (955–964) was a grandson of Marozia. His orgies were worthy of his pedigree, and, though he was head of one of the noblest families in Rome, he was radically incapable of reconciling the contending factions in Italy. To protect himself against their intrigues and to save himself from Berengar II, King of Italy, he called to his aid Otto I of Germany, who at that very moment was desirous of playing the part of another Charlemagne.

Otto I (912–973), whose wife was the English princess Edith, was a just, stern, and capable monarch. At his coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle he had given incontestable proofs both of his tact and of his ambition. He had himself presented to the people by the Archbishop of Mainz for their approval before he was crowned; and at the banquet which followed the coronation he was served by four grandees, the dukes respectively of Lorraine, Franconia, Swabia, and Bavaria. The ceremony foreshadowed Otto's subsequent policy, which was to eliminate in all parts of Germany any tendencies that might show themselves to be independent of his own control. He was able to quell the serious troubles that arose in Lorraine, where he had the help of his brother Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne, and he had a like success in Bavaria. He inflicted a signal defeat on the barbarous Hungarians, who had penetrated into Germany as far as Augsburg, and he reduced to complete submission the Slavonic Wends who lived between the Elbe and the Oder. Envoys from all nations appeared at his court; and as ivory, apes, and peacocks were brought to Solomon, so ivory, apes, and ostriches came to Otto in his Saxon palace.

When Pope John XII appealed to Otto, the appeal fell on willing ears, and Otto sent Liudolf, a brilliant military leader, to the rescue. Liudolf died; and when the Pope appealed again, Otto crossed the Alps himself, late in 961. He entered Pavia unresisted, Berengar shut himself up in a fortress in the Apennines, and Otto was solemnly crowned in St. Peter's, Rome, February the 2nd, 962. Once more there existed a Roman Emperor of the

West, the successor of Charlemagne. On the one hand the Pope and the Romans swore fealty to the Emperor with the promise not to receive Berengar and his son Adalbert. On the other hand Otto swore to maintain the privileges and possessions which had been conferred upon the papacy. He then went to finish with Berengar, but soon found that Adalbert had gone to Rome and been received by the Pope. Then Otto returned. He compelled the Romans to swear that they would never elect a pope except with the consent and choice of himself. He presided in person at a synod which deposed John XII, and a nominee of his own, a layman, who took the name of Leo VIII, was chosen as the new Pope. More troubles ensued. John died of paralysis and the Romans elected a virtuous Pope, Benedict V. Again Otto interfered, besieged the city, sent Benedict off to Germany to be under the guardianship of the Bishop of Hamburg, and put Leo VIII once more upon the papal chair.

Otto, who died in 973, stands at the beginning of a new era. The time of anarchy that had followed the disruption of Charlemagne's empire was coming to an end; he pacified Germany, united it with northern Italy, and received the homage of the rulers of Poland, Bohemia, and Denmark. And one of his great aims was to strengthen the Church on the eastern frontier of Saxony. In 962 he obtained from Pope John XII a bull for the erection of an archbishopric at Magdeburg and a bishopric at Merseburg. Adalbert, the first Archbishop of Magdeburg (who must not be confused with Adalbert of Prague, whom he confirmed), was learned and active, a fit missionary to spread Christianity on the confines of the Slavonic races. Under Magdeburg were placed two new bishoprics on Slavonic ground, Brandenburg and Havelberg. Paganism, however, still remained strong. And in the first quarter of the eleventh century the Emperor Henry II, though he was enthusiastic for Church reform, had to tolerate paganism as the religion of the Liutici, a brave and numerous tribe that dwelt near the coast to the west of the river Oder, and were proud of their famous heathen sanctuary of Redra.

At the very close of the tenth century there was a brief interlude during which piety and vigour were on the papal throne.

Gregory V (996–999), the great-grandson of the Emperor Otto I, became Pope in his twenty-fourth year. He was a man of good character with good friends, but his zeal ran to excess when he condemned Robert the Pious, King of France, because his wife Bertha was within the prohibited degrees of kinship. Gregory declared the union null and void and suspended the Archbishop of Tours for countenancing the marriage. Robert had vainly tried to purchase the Pope's complaisance by favouring papal interference with the archbishopric of Reims, and he was naturally furious when he was condemned to seven years' penance for marrying a wife who was only within the third degree of kinship. The reign of Gregory V was very short and his death was thought to have been the work of his enemies.

The pontificate of Gregory V, the first German Pope, and another Pope nominated by a German monarch, Otto III, warn us that the local Church of Rome was in danger of escaping from one family of patrons into the hands of another. The appeal made by John XII to Otto I opened for the Church of Rome a road to freedom from the grasp of the local nobility and from the Counts of Tusculum; but in acquiring this freedom it became the handmaid, although an honoured handmaid, of masterful foreigners. Otto I and Otto II nominated popes of their own choosing; but Otto III and Henry III went a step farther. They chose bishops from their own side of the Alps to occupy the papal throne. Gregory V had a rival, but he was not a Roman, though he was supported by Crescentius, the powerful Patrician of Rome. He was a Calabrian Greek named Philagathus, a candidate for the papacy favoured by the Greek emperor Basil II. He assumed the name of John XVI and played for a short time the part of an antipope, but fled precipitately when Otto approached the Eternal City. And Rome preferred the German to the Greek.

The foundation of the monastery of Cluny near Mâcon by Duke William of Aquitaine in 910 illustrates the fact that divine providence is able to create new sources of Christian life close to the time and place of its utmost degradation. The monastery was exempt from the control of all secular authority and was placed directly under the Pope. Berno, the first abbot, accom-

plished nothing that was outwardly imposing, but he bequeathed to his successor Odo five or six monastic houses. Odo not only made Cluny a refuge and a model for the religious life in France, but also went to Italy and induced some of the greatest Benedictine houses to adopt the Cluny manner of life. The order was blessed with a remarkable succession of abbots, spiritual, learned, able, and of aristocratic birth. With the exception of one short interval, seven men of this type ruled the 'congregation of Cluny' for about two hundred and fifty years. This rule was a reality and not a mere name. The abbot appointed all the superiors of all the daughter houses, he had under his authority every one of the thousands of his monks, and many members of the order passed some years of training at Cluny itself.

The field work and manual labour enjoined by the original Benedictine rule were abandoned, and the huge church erected at Cluny, the largest in Europe with the exception of St. Peter's, Rome, was used for lengthy services which were the same in all Cluniac houses. In spite of these long devotions, time was found for taking part in ecclesiastical politics. Cluny had its offshoots in Spain, Germany, and Hungary, also in England, where Cluniac houses were introduced in the time of the Conqueror. And Cluny threw its vast influence on the side of reform. It opposed simony and it prepared the Church for a struggle against moral laxity and royal oppression so soon as a pope should come with enough energy for that struggle. Of a kindred spirit to that of Cluny was Gerard, lord of Brogne, near Namur. He founded a little monastery where he had at first intended to end his days in peace; but his saintliness kindled a fire which spread throughout Flanders and Lorraine. Everywhere monastic reform was not only in the air but was an accomplished fact. The reform of monasticism was the first essential step in the reform of Christian life.

Thus the ascetic and mystical spirit which revived in France affected all the subsequent piety of the Middle Ages. And the monks turned their eyes towards Rome, partly because the bishops were jealous of the monks, and partly because the monastic orders were international and drew their members from different countries. The monastic orders also gave a

stimulus to clerical celibacy, and this celibacy, both in Italy and beyond it, was demanded by the reforming party in the Church in order to put a stop to the scandal of the most lucrative offices in the Church being handed on from father to son. The papacy was simultaneously strengthened by the False Decretals. They had fallen into comparative oblivion soon after their composition, but they were studied later in the schools of Lower Lotharingia. The Decretals, as we have already seen, taught the subordination of individual bishops to the Pope and to him alone, and in this way made the claims of kings and nobles in ecclesiastical matters appear unlawful. In course of time these different elements, ascetic, mystical, and juristic, united and became supreme in Rome, aided by the sentiment which recalled the traditions of the Carolingian period and the alliance between Emperor and Pope. The German Emperor, Henry III, and Pope Leo IX, friends of Cluny, mark the inauguration of a renewed papal theocracy in the middle of the eleventh century.

The German Pope, Gregory V, was succeeded by a Frenchman of high renown, Gerbert, who became Pope under the name of Silvester II (999–1003). His elevation to the throne was the work of the Emperor, Otto III, whose instructor he had been. Otto frequently resided in Rome, and he replaced his worthy cousin Gregory by a worthier tutor. Gerbert was a great statesman and a great scholar, one whose career vividly illustrates the adventures which might befall a man of letters living in the heart of the Middle Ages. He lectured for many years at Reims under the patronage of Archbishop Adalbero, and his fame excited the jealous interest of Octricus of Magdeburg, who had been the instructor of St. Adalbert, the apostle of the Czechs. The differences of the two scholars led to a philosophical field-day at Ravenna, where they argued for many hours in the presence of the Emperor, Otto II. Near this time, about 981, the Emperor put Gerbert over the abbey of Bobbio, the famous monastery of Celtic foundation in Lombardy. On the death of Adalbero, the influence of Theophano, the mother of Otto III, secured the great see of Reims for Arnulf, a bastard son of the deceased King of France, Lothair. But the new King of France, Hugh Capet, who had the good luck to get and keep the power

which the Carolingians lost, found in Gerbert a better friend than he found in Arnulf, and in 991 Gerbert was put in the place of Arnulf.

Otto II had died in 983, but it was not until 996 that Otto III was crowned Emperor at Rome. Gerbert was present. He was appointed Archbishop of Ravenna in 998. In that high position he acted with the utmost energy and seemed marked out for the supreme dignity to which he ascended in 999. During his short pontificate we find signs of his activity in France, Spain, Germany, and Bohemia. He confirmed his old rival Arnulf in his possession of the See of Reims, he helped to unravel the difficulties of German bishops, and he was believed in later times to have sent a crown to St. Stephen, King of Hungary, who accepted his kingdom as a fief of the Holy See. It should be noted that his writings, which date from the period before he became Pope, make a very modest claim for papal authority, and are far nearer to the Gallican than to the later Roman theory of the relation of the episcopate to the papacy. The learning of Gerbert has been somewhat exaggerated, and it may fairly be said that his mind was a storehouse rather than a factory. But he knew very much, and was able to borrow judiciously from Porphyry, Aristotle, Cicero, John Scotus Eriugena, and Boethius. He encouraged discussion among his pupils and caused them to read widely among the Latin poets. His methods gave fresh life and interest to the *quadrivium*, i.e. course of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. No scholar of the Renaissance was more eager than Gerbert to collect and copy old manuscripts of the classical Latin authors. He was a real lover of books and was indefatigable in ransacking the libraries of Italy, Germany, France, and Belgium, and in demanding the return of the manuscripts which he had lent to his friends.

Gilbert has been wrongly regarded as the author of a small book on the Eucharist defending the reality and spiritual character of Christ's presence; and a letter ascribed to him, and certainly of his period, reveals him as a prophet summoning Christians to a crusade for the delivery of Jerusalem.

After the death of Silvester II, in 1003, the sorry tale of degenerate popes soon begins anew. Benedict VIII, who crowned

King Henry II of Saxony as Emperor in 1014, was virtuous. But John XIX only took holy orders in order to become Pope and was not unwilling to sell to the Patriarch of Constantinople the disputed title of 'Oecumenical Bishop'. The next Pope, Benedict IX, was a boy of ten whose disorders were such that the Romans elected another pontiff. Benedict then sold his rights for a cash payment to his own godfather. All three popes were deposed by the Emperor Henry III with the support of an ecclesiastical council held at Sutri in 1046, and Suidger, a German, Bishop of Bamberg, was designated as Pope by Henry and took the name of Clement II. He went to Rome in 1047 and died the same year. Another time of chaos followed.

This deplorable period was not without some spiritual compensations for the conduct of the reigning pontiffs. There took place in Italy a revival of strict monastic life similar to that of Cluny in France. Romuald, a member of a noble family of Ravenna, retired to the Benedictine monastery of St. Apollinare in Classe. He felt strongly drawn to the life of a hermit, and about 1012 became the superior of a colony of hermits near Ravenna. It was his desire to bring back to the West the primitive eremitical monasticism such as had existed in Egypt in the fourth century. The monks dwelt in separate huts around their oratory, and only met together for divine service and for meals on certain days. Their rules were of the utmost rigour: they abstained entirely from meat and wine, their feet were bare, and their garments white. Romuald's chief foundation was at Camaldoli, on the heights of the Tuscan Apennines near Arezzo, in a valley which was covered with snow for half the year; and from this place his order derived the name of Camaldolenses. The colonies of hermits were called 'deserts' and St. Romuald founded several such throughout central Italy. Some of his disciples went on missions to the heathen in Russia, Poland, and Prussia, and in his old age he himself set out on a missionary journey to Hungary, but was unable to accomplish his design. He died in 1027. As in Egypt the eremitical life was sometimes abandoned for the 'common life', so it was in Italy, where the coenobitical life was permitted by the Camaldolenses. But the primitive ideal has never been forsaken and to this day

Camaldoli remains a 'desert'. St. Romuald was esteemed and consulted by the Emperors Otto III and Henry II.

Guido of Arezzo, who died in 1050 as prior of the Camaldolensian monastery of Avellana, has been called the father of modern music. He had been a monk in the Benedictine monastery of Pomposa, where he taught singing, and claimed that by his method a pupil could learn in five months what would formerly have required ten years. But he met with envy and jealousy and left the place. About 1030 he was invited to Rome by Pope John XIX and the Pope himself became his pupil. It seems that he was induced to return for a time to Pomposa by the abbot, who met him in Rome and repented of his former behaviour. His musical talents were recognized by his contemporaries, and it is plain that his teaching must have been practical and progressive. He was the first who systematically used the lines of the staff and the intervals between them. And the names of the first seven notes of the scale used by the Romance nations, *ut*, *re*, *mi*, *fa*, *sol*, *la*, *si*, were introduced by Guido. They are the first syllables of the first clauses of a Latin hymn addressed to St. John Baptist. It is said that he so completely suppressed everything that was not diatonic in the chants of the Church that many musicians supposed that the chants had always been regulated by the rules which he fixed.

Other and more important alleviations of the evils of the time were afforded by the efforts after peace known as the *Pax Ecclesiae* and its development the *Treuga Dei*, the Truce of God. The *Pax Ecclesiae* is first found in southern and central France in 990, and was vigorously supported by the congregation of Cluny. The peace decrees passed by various ecclesiastical synods were intended to protect non-combatants in the time of war, and prohibited all violence against clerics, merchants, women, and peasants. These decrees quickly commended themselves to the Christian conscience, and diocesan leagues were organized to maintain them. The Truce of God, which was also championed by the regular clergy, goes back at least as early as the Synod of Elne, held in the Pyrenees in 1027. It quickly spread over France, and before long was introduced into Flanders, Germany, and Italy. It prohibited every act of

private warfare from noon on Saturday till the hour of prime on Monday, and the prohibition became extended to Lent, Advent, and several festivals. It was widely favoured by the lay rulers as well as by ecclesiastics. Indeed the German Emperor, Henry II, and the French King, Robert the Pious, discussed the subject of universal peace at Mouzon in 1023. The two monarchs at least went so far as to give each other the kiss of peace, exchange presents, and dine at the same table. Ecclesiastical regulations concerning the Truce of God were laid down in a model normal form at Narbonne in 1054. It was in that very year that ecclesiastical ambition broke the Christian Church in twain.

The confusion which reigned in Rome just before the middle of the eleventh century terminated with the accession of Pope Leo IX (1049–1054). Born in Alsace and related to the German imperial family, he was chosen at Worms to be Pope, but he stipulated that he should be canonically elected by the Roman clergy and people. He was an enthusiastic advocate of the Cluny reforms, and in his official progresses through Italy, Germany, and France he everywhere showed his determination to put down simony and enforce clerical celibacy. Once more there was a Pope of first-rate ability, striving to effect a moral and material restoration of papal authority. And at Constantinople there was a Patriarch, Michael Cerularius, also of iron will and intellectual force, who was the last man in the world to permit any curtailment of the jurisdiction of his patriarchate. He feared that the bishoprics in Apulia would revert to the Roman obedience as a result of an agreement between Leo IX and the Normans, who had invaded southern Italy. To this region we must now turn our attention.

During the degradation of the papacy at the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century, the Eastern emperors skilfully strengthened their hold upon their possessions in southern Italy. They carefully respected the customs of the people of Apulia and Calabria, leaving the government partly in the hands of the local aristocracy. But they Hellenized the country, making it once again a Magna Graecia. Their ecclesiastical policy went hand in hand with their civil policy. In Calabria they erected eight bishoprics dependent upon an arch-

bishop of Santa Severina and five sees were created under the new metropolitan see of Otranto (Hydruntum) in 968. No protests were made by Rome. And the Latin prelates of these regions were judiciously conciliated, the Bishops of Bari and Tarento being raised to the position of archbishops. Greek monasteries were planted all over southern Italy and extended almost to the gates of Rome, near to which there exists to this day the last Greek monastery in Italy, Grottaferrata. Greek law and the Greek language became dominant,[1] and the Greek rite was so well planted that it survived in some churches until the seventeenth century. And while Eastern monks like St. Nilus of Grottaferrata were welcomed in Italy, there flowed from Italy and other countries into the East streams of pilgrims of the Latin rite. The faithful were quite content to believe that they were members of one Catholic Church, and viewed each other's eccentricities of ritual with placid toleration.

There were, however, some signs of friction, not among the Christian peoples, but among their rulers. The Emperor Nicephorus Phocas, who had created the ecclesiastical province of Otranto, was indignant when he received a letter from Pope John XIII in which Otto, the German monarch, and not he himself, was called the 'August Emperor of the Romans'. Near the end of the tenth century the Patriarch Sisinnius revived the old dispute about the procession of the Holy Ghost, and in 1009 his successor Sergius erased the name of the Pope from among the names inscribed on the diptychs. The name seems to have been restored subsequently. A more serious scandal took place in 1024. In that year an embassy from the Emperor Basil and the Patriarch Eustathius came to Rome bringing valuable gifts to Pope John XIX. The object of the embassy was to gain complete autonomy for the Greek Church, an autonomy which Sergius had no doubt hinted at when he had removed the Pope's name from the diptychs. Actual schism was probably not contemplated; but simply the recognition by Rome of the title 'Oecumenical' as a legitimate title of the Patriarch of

[1] In the extreme south of Italy the Greek language is not quite extinct, though it is becoming mixed with the local Italian and gradually replaced by Italian. Parochial Church services of the Uniate rite in Greek survive in Italy only in old Albanian colonies.

Constantinople. John XIX would probably have yielded if it had not been for the vigorous religious revival which had its centre in France, in the great monastery of Cluny. The leaders of that revival took a keener interest than the Pope in the unity of the Church under the authority of Rome. Their letters and their remonstrances were not without effect. They stiffened the attitude of the Pope, and he only met the emperor's wishes so far as to recognize the ecclesiastical province of Bari, which had been formed under Byzantine auspices.

Peace between Rome and New Rome prevailed, at least outwardly, until it was rudely broken by the Patriarch Michael Cerularius. Michael began his campaign in 1047, when he refused to give Holy Communion to Argyrus, a Lombard chief of the Normans, who came to Constantinople to arrange an alliance between the Pope and the Emperor. He had defended the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist, a use which was long established in the West and was not criticized even by such a controversialist as Photius. Michael, however, treated the custom as a mortal sin. He next found fault with the Patriarch of Antioch for mentioning the name of the Pope in the liturgy, falsely alleging that it had not been the custom to do this at Constantinople since 692. And about the same time Leo, Metropolitan of Achrida probably at the instigation of Michael, wrote to an Apulian bishop, John of Trani, a letter which was an indictment of several innocent Western customs, including the old Roman practice of fasting on Saturdays. Michael also circulated a more violent epistle written in Latin by a Greek monk, Nicetas, condemning clerical celibacy. Finally he shut up the churches of the Latin rite in Constantinople, churches frequented by the English and other Christians from the West. The attack was wholly wanton and unprovoked.

Leo IX replied to the letter of Leo of Achrida. He showed his appreciation of the whole affair by addressing his letter—*In terra pax*—jointly to Michael and Leo. He emphasized the primacy of St. Peter and his successors; he pointed out how many real heresies had come from Constantinople; and he asserted that no one had ever disturbed the churches of the Byzantine rite in the Western patriarchate. And as a matter of fact Rome has shown itself more tolerant towards Eastern

ceremonies than Constantinople has towards Latin rites, or even those Eastern rites which differ from the Byzantine. It was a dignified letter, and though Leo in it quoted as genuine the forged Donation of Constantine, he can hardly be blamed for believing, like the rest of his contemporaries, that the Donation was authentic. It is difficult to trace the exact order of subsequent events. But Cerularius seems to have wavered for a moment under pressure from the Emperor, Constantine X, and to have written to the Pope proposing an 'alliance'. At any rate Leo wrote a second letter, again insisting upon the primacy of Rome and complaining that Michael had tried to impose his will upon the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch. In spite of the decision of the Oecumenical Council of Constantinople in 381, Leo assumed that the rank of these most ancient sees was higher than that of Constantinople. He sent to Constantinople three legates, Cardinal Humbert, Cardinal Frederick, Chancellor of the Roman Church, and Peter, Archbishop of Amalfi. Michael wanted them to take seats below the seats of the Eastern metropolitans and was annoyed because they bore their crosiers in his diocese and would not prostrate themselves before him. Several weeks were spent in discussion, and in the midst of it all Leo IX died, April the 19th, 1054. Michael then refused to see the legates and struck the name of the Pope off the diptychs. Popes were to be treated as excommunicated, past praying for.

The legates took the final step which Michael Cerularius must have expected. On Saturday, July the 16th, 1054, at nine in the morning, when St. Sophia was thronged with people and the service of preparation for the liturgy had just begun, the three Latin legates walked up the vast church, through the 'royal doors' in the centre of the jewelled screen, and laid their bull of excommunication upon the holy table. As they turn back they exclaim, 'Let God see and judge'. The bull anathematized Michael himself, Leo of Achrida, Nicephorus, Michael's 'sacellarius', who had trampled on the Eucharist consecrated according to the Latin rite, and all their followers. The principal offences with which the excommunicated were charged were denying that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son, and denying that there is any true Church or sacrifice or baptism outside their own body. Other more trifling faults are mentioned, but

the root of the trouble is 'the injury done to the holy apostolic and first see'.

The schism was the work of Michael Cerularius, who had deliberately provoked a crisis in order to show that he repudiated any possible claim of Rome to exercise any kind of jurisdiction in his patriarchate. The excommunication which he achieved was not the excommunication of the Eastern Church as a whole. The rank and file of the two Churches were not hostile to one another. But they gradually drifted into dislike and enmity, and the results were disastrous. The spiritual life and the intellectual growth of both East and West were stunted; and in the fifteenth century the Turk came to reign in Constantinople because theological differences deprived the Eastern emperors of the power to ally themselves with Western Europe.

IX

EMPIRE AND INVESTITURE

THE Holy Roman Empire, taking the term in its ordinary sense, denotes the sovereignty of Germany and Italy vested in a Germanic prince. It was the creation of Otto I (see p. 101), though it was in a large measure a prolongation and revival of the empire which had been framed by the genius of Charles the Great in A.D. 800. To the modern student the long strife between the papacy and this empire seems perplexing, ignoble, and very carnal. Yet we must remember that in this strife there were on both sides men who acted with sincerity and learning, and that they were face to face with a religious problem of the greatest importance. The relation of the Christian Church to a non-Christian State is often difficult, but the relation of the Christian Church to a Christian State is sometimes more delicate. The men of the Middle Ages had derived from St. Augustine something of his magnificent idea of a divine society, the *civitas Dei*, whose regal authority is independent of any earthly sovereign. They believed firmly that it was the will of God that all mankind should be embraced in this society, and they saw that it has necessarily two aspects, one concerned primarily with this life and the other with the life to come. And these two aspects of civilized and Christian life were by the will of God embodied in two orders, *Sacerdotium* and *Imperium*, the first spiritual and the second temporal. Christ is the head of the whole community with its two distinct orders, and the emperor is the guardian of the secular order and the sphere of human life. But what of the Pope?

The separation of Eastern from Western Christendom left the Pope in a position of enhanced and solitary dignity. He was the vicar and the representative of Christ. As such he claimed authority over the whole of the divine society on earth, and disputed the right of any emperor who maintained that in the secular sphere the emperor was God's vicar. The advocates of the papal theory were able to allege an argument of startling simplicity: viz. the Almighty has entrusted the Pope with all possible authority as His representative, this authority includes

the temporal sphere no less than the spiritual, therefore any power which the emperor derives from God, he derives through the Pope. Some difference of opinion existed as to the degree of divine sanction given to the temporal power. But it was regarded generally on the papal side as a sanction given grudgingly and of necessity. Pope Gregory VII was quite explicit on this point. Kings have derived their power from men who have gained it by 'pride, plunder, perfidy, murder', and have been instigated by the prince of this world, namely, the devil. Kingly rule is, on the whole, evil, tolerated by God rather than approved by God. Gregory VII does indeed compare the spiritual and the secular power to the two eyes in one man's head, but this intelligible symbol represents his attitude of mind less correctly than his comparison of the two powers respectively to the sun and the moon and to a man's soul and his body.

In practice the papal theory meant that the Pope might supervise and correct any possible action performed by the emperor or any secular ruler whatever. So long as this supervision was exercised in favour of justice and mercy, the doctrine upon which it was founded could not be opposed with much prospect of success. But the doctrine met with disaster when men realized that papal interference with imperial politics had been commonly actuated by avarice and ambition, and that the morality of the Vicar of Christ was identical with that of 'the prince of this world'.

Short of any disastrous schism, some serious contention between popes and emperors was almost inevitable, even in the days of high-minded pontiffs. And contention blazed over the question of lay investiture, the nature of which must now be described.

Investiture was an installation into office which symbolized the relation between a vassal and his suzerain. The suzerain, after receiving an oath of fealty from his vassal, handed to him some symbol, such as a banner or a branch. At a later date a sword and a sceptre were given to important vassals as signs of military and judicial authority. A contract was thus made between the two parties; protection was promised by the superior and honourable service by the inferior. The vassal

became the tenant of lands, great or small, on condition that he rendered such aid as his lord required. This aid took more especially the form of military service, though in a feudal state there was hardly any service owed by a man to the state which was not somewhere included in the duty of certain tenants.

Now the Church had gradually come into possession of a vast amount of land. And it had become the custom for kings to invest bishops with emblems of their office as a sign that in return for the safe enjoyment of these lands they must render certain services to the king. In Germany the Church lands were so important that if the bishops had refused to own any obligations to the sovereign, the State would have been threatened with total ruin. And in return for the bishop's oath of fealty, it was the custom for the emperor to invest him with the ring and the pastoral staff, symbols of the bishop's marriage to the Church and his spiritual authority over his flock. Against such an investiture the strongest protest was naturally made by the reforming party in the Church. Their objections were based not only upon the obvious fact that the investiture seemed to imply that a bishop derived his spiritual authority from the king and not from the Church, but also upon the very real danger of ecclesiastics purchasing their sacred office from the king as a layman might purchase the use of land by the payment of a rent or fine.

Henry III, Roman Emperor, died in 1056, two years after the breach between Eastern and Western Christendom. Ambitious, strong-willed, capable of ruling in both peace and war, he made the Slavs of Bohemia his vassals, gained the friendship of the Poles, and conquered Hungary. He endeavoured to maintain justice and quiet throughout his immense dominions, and in this arduous task he turned his eyes towards the Church. We have already noticed how he deposed the three claimants to the papal throne. Associating himself vigorously with the reforming work of the monks, he tried to check abuses at home as well as remove the cancer which was consuming the Church in Italy. He was, consciously or not, preparing for the gigantic struggle in the next century between two great principles, on one hand the domination of an international Church State, and on the other hand the domination of national State Churches

controlled by civil rulers. In both England and France the struggle was destined to be difficult. But everything pointed to the fact that it would be on its grandest scale in Germany. The head of the Empire not only, like the kings of England and France, invoked his royal prerogatives and the independence of his temporal authority. He regarded himself as one of the two earthly heads of the Church and, deprived of the right of intervening in the election of popes, he defended with all the more energy his claim to intervene in the election of bishops.

Henry IV (1056–1106) was destined to feel the keen edge of the ecclesiastical discipline which his father had taken so great pains to sharpen. For a time the State was ruled by Anno, Archbishop of Cologne, and then by the more genial Adalbert, Archbishop of Bremen. But Adalbert, and then Henry himself, raised up a swarm of enemies. Henry favoured the Swabians, sneered at the Saxons, and offended the nobles whose right to certain old crown lands he disputed and denied. He also encroached on the rights of the peasants and covered the land with forts which the peasants suspected would be used as prisons. Discontent was almost universal, and it found expression in the outspoken utterances of an assembly held at Wormesleben, and then in a general insurrection. The rising of the peasants alarmed the princes, some of whom hastened to support Henry. He entered Saxony with a formidable army and won a decisive victory over the rebels in 1075. Two years earlier, Hildebrand, son of a Tuscan peasant, trained at Rome and imbued with a juristic spirit, a man of commanding genius who had been steadily rising from one honour to another, became Pope, with the title of Gregory VII. To this Pope the Saxons made an appeal.

Now it happened that Gregory VII had just issued a decree against the marriage of the clergy and against the practice of laymen investing ecclesiastics with the emblems of spiritual office. The question of lay investiture vitally affected different sovereigns, and no one so much as Henry IV. Threatened by the papal ban, he summoned a synod of German bishops who met at Worms in 1076 and declared Gregory deposed. He himself wrote a letter to the Pope in which he called him 'not pope, but false monk'. Gregory immediately excommunicated

him, and Henry found himself in a desperate position. His subjects were openly disaffected, and a Diet held in October 1076 discussed his deposition, and finally decided that he should be judged by an assembly to be held under the presidency of the Pope.

Henry determined to grasp the nettle of humiliation in spite of its sting. He set out to find the Pope and tracked him to the fortress of Canossa in the Apennines. Here, outside the inner walls of the castle, in the midst of the snow, clad only in a coarse woollen shirt, Henry presented himself on Sunday, January the 22nd, 1087. Gregory was inexorable, and refused to see Henry until the evening of the third day. Then, after the emperor had prostrated himself in the snow, the Pope, at the instigation of Hugh, Abbot of Cluny, raised him and gave him the kiss of peace.

The story of this spiritual duel in the snow has burnt itself into the history of Christendom, and we naturally ask, who was the real victor? To some it has seemed that the humiliation of Henry was a victory of spiritual force over worldly power, and to others a victory of arrogance over misfortune. And for the moment the triumph of Gregory VII must have seemed dazzling, though his own words show that even some of his own followers described his action as one of 'tyrannical ferocity' rather than 'apostolical severity'. But Henry had also won a victory. His quick submission divided his opponents. He deprived the German nobility of any just reason for continuing their rebellion, and he deprived the Pope of a most promising opportunity of acting as the supreme judge of the internal affairs of his empire. It was impossible to refuse absolution to a penitent who had performed such a penance, and impossible to disguise the fact that absolution was bestowed.

Henry's refractory nobles felt that they had been outwitted, and promptly chose as a new king Henry's brother-in-law, Duke Rudolf of Swabia. For three years the Pope waited to see the result of their choice, and then, early in 1080, came to the conclusion that Rudolf would keep the throne, and he again thundered a sentence of excommunication against Henry. But before this took effect Henry had gained considerable support from the citizens of the Rhineland and southern Germany, who

saw that their liberties were less threatened by Henry than by his nobles. And when the second excommunication was pronounced, it awoke new sympathy with the victim. His military power was now sufficient to defeat Rudolf, who was slain in a battle in October 1080. The next year Henry entered Italy unopposed. He besieged Rome, and, after two years of intermittent siege, obtained possession of all the city except the castle of St. Angelo. He set up a new Pope, Wibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, who took the name of Clement III, and from his hands he received the imperial crown. But his Italian adventures were not yet over. The Eastern emperor, Alexius, persuaded him to attack the Normans in Apulia. The Normans forced him to retire, sacked Rome, and rescued Gregory. Henry returned to Germany. But the Pope could no longer live among the people who had deserted him. He retired with the Normans to Salerno, the Normans who had devastated his city, and died in May 1085 uttering the tragic words, 'I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile'.

The Norman conquest of England in 1066 coincided in time with the influence of Pope Gregory VII. It was fraught with importance for the history of the English Church, which hitherto had been hardly affected by the monastic and religious revival which issued from Cluny.

William I (? 1027–1087) was indubitably a great king and a sincere Christian. He was stern and cruel to his opponents, though the hideous mutilations which he sometimes inflicted on them were too common in the Middle Ages to be considered as a proof that he loved cruelty for cruelty's sake. Faithful in wedded life, temperate, regular in his religious duties, he turned his inflexible will to the improvement of the Church. The English bishops had been slack, and their places were now taken by vigorous foreigners, of whom the most distinguished was Lanfranc, the new Archbishop of Canterbury. The great abbacies were also given to aliens, and new zeal and learning were infused into the Church. This alliance with continental reform brought with it the danger of an unwise subservience of the temporal to the spiritual power; but to prevent such a result, William I fully availed himself of the customary freedom of the

English Church in his dealings with the papacy. About 1076 a legate came from Gregory VII demanding that he should do fealty to the Pope and send Peter's pence. He replied that he would send the money as his predecessors had done, but would not do fealty, for he had not promised it and his predecessors had not done it.

To guard against papal interference he laid down three rules as necessary to his kingly rights: (1) that no one should be recognized as Pope in England without his command and no papal letters received without his leave; (2) that no English synods might make enactments which he had not sanctioned; (3) that no barons or officers should be excommunicated without his approval. He retained in his own hands the choice of bishops and abbots, but took the rather hazardous step of separating the ecclesiastical courts from the civil courts. The bishops were allowed to have courts of their own and to enforce obedience to them by excommunication, a right which they had not enjoyed in Saxon times.

William I and Lanfranc were strong and disinterested in the matter of Church reform and organization; but the balance of power which they maintained between Church and State, Pope and King, was too delicate to survive when men of inferior character came to occupy their places.

William Rufus (d. 1100) looked upon the Church as a property to be plundered. Lanfranc exacted from him promises that he would govern justly, but died too soon (1089) to check effectually the Red King's career of iniquity. On Lanfranc's death the see of Canterbury was kept in the king's hands till 1093, when, lying sick at Gloucester, he invested Anselm, Abbot of Bec in Normandy, with the see, and also promised to amend his life. Once recovered from his sickness, William sought every possible opportunity for a quarrel with Anselm. He resented the archbishop's protests against the vices of his court, he opposed his endeavours to secure reforms in the Church, and he was indignant with Anselm for definitely siding with Pope Urban II instead of remaining neutral and supporting neither the Pope nor the antipope, Clement III. Constantly harried and thwarted, Anselm requested leave to go to Rome. In 1097 he received permission to go and the king promptly seized the archbishop's

estates. Three years later William Rufus was killed while hunting in the New Forest, though no one can tell whether the arrow that smote him was sped by vengeance or by mischance. His bloated body, fiery face, blasphemy, avarice, and loathsome vices made him the object of his nation's scorn. It was no crime on the part of the monks of Winchester that they would chant no requiem for his soul, although they buried his body beneath the cathedral tower. Nor was it wholly foolishness that when that tower fell, seven years afterwards, the common people regarded the fall as a sign that even such a burial was undeserved by such a sinner.

Anselm, a native of Aosta and friend of Lanfranc, was a philosopher and a saint, and one of the greatest and most humble men that ever sat on the throne of St. Augustine. His zeal for learning, justice, and virtue was recognized far beyond the borders of England and Normandy, and Pope Urban received him with flattering cordiality and called him 'Pope of another world'. From Rome he went to Apulia, where, in a mountain village, he finished his famous treatise on the Incarnation, *Cur Deus Homo*. In October 1098 he attended a large council of bishops at Bari, where he strongly defended against the Greeks the doctrine of St. Augustine concerning the eternal procession of the Holy Spirit 'from the Son' as well as from the Father. The council would probably have excommunicated William Rufus if it had not been for the intercession of Anselm himself. He returned to England in October 1100, having received an earnest request to do so from King Henry I. Unhappily the king and the archbishop soon found that they were divided by a serious difference. Anselm had come back to England pledged to observe the canons made at Bari and Rome, which forbade clerics to receive investiture at the hands of laymen or to do homage for their benefices. Henry required him to do homage for the restitution of the temporalities of the see of Canterbury, of which he had been deprived by William Rufus. This Anselm declined to do. Henry then proposed a truce, and it was agreed to send envoys to Rome to request that in England the ancient customs with regard to investiture and homage should be retained. The new Pope, Paschal II, was inflexible. A second

embassy was sent to Rome, and at last Anselm and an envoy from the king went to Rome in 1103. Paschal then excommunicated all who had infringed the new laws, except Henry. This left the question still unsolved. Throughout the dispute Anselm's own action was clear and straightforward. He pressed the Pope to give a plain decision, and at the same time was willing to hold intercourse with the bishops whom Henry invested, so long as he was not himself required to consecrate them. The controversy still dragged on. From the Pope Anselm could only get promises, and from Henry excuses. Determined to force the matter to an issue, he, in 1105 threatened to excommunicate Henry. Henry yielded and a reconciliation was effected.

A formal settlement of the controversy was made in 1107 in London. The king decreed that henceforth no man in England should be invested for bishopric or abbey with staff or ring by any layman, and Anselm promised that no one should be debarred from consecration by the fact of having done homage to the king for his lands. Anselm did not long survive this eminently satisfactory compromise. He died in April 1109, and was buried at Canterbury, where his remains still rest. He was a man in whom an exquisite integrity of character was united with unflinching courage, one in whom an untiring search for truth was quickened by his knowledge of God in Christ.

St. Anselm's chief literary works are the *Monologion*, the *Proslogion*, or Address to God, the *Cur Deus Homo*, or Why God became incarnate, and the *Prayers*. The two former are logically connected, and the *Prayers* help to enrich our understanding of his doctrine of Christ's work and Person. That doctrine has been charged with conceiving the incarnation from a legal and feudal standpoint, a conception of God's justice rather than God's fatherhood. Nevertheless, Anselm's teaching contains elements of the highest value. He taught men to face sin seriously, and to know that they cannot strike a bargain with God, or approach Him as a kindly being who forgets rather than forgives. And he dealt a deadly blow to the strange notion that the 'ransom for many' given by the dying Saviour was a price paid to the devil and not an offering freely made to God. The *Proslogion* contains the famous maxim *Credo ut*

intelligam, 'I believe in order that I may understand,' a maxim which was not intended to cramp free inquiry, but to affirm that religious experience is necessary for the man who is seeking a philosophy of religion. The backbone of the argument is that the very idea of God presupposes His real existence, since we conceive of God as perfect—and He would not be perfect without the attribute of existence. This was criticized by Gaunilo, a monk of Marmoutier, who urged that the mind can create, by synthesis, the idea of a perfect being to which nothing corresponds in the realm of reality. Anselm studied this criticism with pleasure, and replied to it with equal acuteness and courtesy. In his answer he practically admitted that his original statement of the argument was not sufficient, and he put it into a new form which remains sound if we assume that what is most real is not only most satisfactory to thought, but also is approved by our moral consciousness as the best.

Under King Henry II (1133–1189) the alliance between Church and State which had been cemented by Henry I and Anselm was again in jeopardy. The point of burning friction was now the relation of the king's court to the ecclesiastical courts.

The early years of Henry's reign were partly devoted to securing peace at home, and partly to schemes of aggrandizement in Ireland, Wales, and France, and the recovery from the Scots of the northern counties of England. During this period the king found a keen and devoted servant in the person of Thomas Becket, who was born of Norman parents in London, and after receiving an excellent education in England and Paris, became an inmate of the household of Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury. Becket accompanied Theobald to Rome in 1143, and for a time studied canon law at Bologna. In 1154 he became Archdeacon of Canterbury after taking deacon's orders; and the next year Henry, on the recommendation of Theobald, made him chancellor. In this high office he helped the king to break the dependence of the Crown upon its feudal tenants for the supply of a military force, and to sweep away the exemption from taxation enjoyed by knights and by ecclesiastics.

To secure the help of Thomas on a still wider scale, Henry, in 1162, set ecclesiastical propriety at defiance by urging the chapter

of Canterbury to elect his deacon-chancellor to fill the vacant see. He was duly elected and consecrated, and the virtuous and vigorous statesman became at once transformed into the ascetic and uncompromising primate. The very next year he opposed, apparently with both justice and success, a project mooted by Henry for a changed method of levying the land-tax. This incident is the first known case of any opposition to the king in the matter of taxation in England. Henry was irritated, and his irritation became more bitter and personal when Thomas came forward as the champion of the privileges of the ecclesiastical courts. His answer to the archbishop was given in the Constitutions of Clarendon, issued in 1164, which professed to define the relations of Church and State according to ancient law and custom. Of the sixteen provisions the most contentious was one declaring that criminous clerks were to be summoned to the king's court and from thence, after formal accusation and defence, sent to the proper ecclesiastical court for trial. If found guilty, they were to be degraded and sent back to the king's court for punishment. By other provisions appeals to Rome without the licence of the king were forbidden, and no bishop was allowed to be elected without the king's permission. The opposition of Thomas was a foregone conclusion, and the king summoned him to appear before a council at Northampton. Here he had to meet a series of unjust demands and accusations, and, after appealing to the Pope, he left the council and fled to the Continent. His cause was immediately espoused by Pope Alexander III and Louis, King of France.

Henry's ambition led him at last to commit an extraordinary blunder. He determined to have his heir crowned during his own lifetime and to do this at a most inopportune moment. In spite of the protest of Pope and primate, the young king was crowned by Roger, Archbishop of York, and he was crowned without his wife, the daughter of the King of France. Thomas returned to England and the Pope suspended Roger and all the bishops who had assisted at the coronation. And when Henry was keeping the Christmas of 1170 at Bures near Bayeux, Roger appeared with the bishops of London and Salisbury and told him that Thomas had refused to absolve them from the Pope's sentence. It was then that Henry, always restless and passionate,

burst into the exclamation, 'What a parcel of fools and dastards have I nourished in my house that not one of them will avenge me of this one upstart clerk!' It is not likely that he meant to be taken at his word. But four knights who heard him crossed the sea, and killed Thomas in his own cathedral church in the dim light of the December afternoon. As he died he held his cross, and after three cruel blows on the head, he murmured, 'For the name of Jesus and for the defence of the Church I am ready to embrace death'. He was canonized in 1172, and two years later the penitent king knelt at his shrine barefoot, and submitted to be scourged by the seventy monks of the cathedral chapter.

Other English saints have perhaps been more saintly than St. Thomas of Canterbury. None was more brave or more popular. No holy place in England attracted so many pilgrims or such costly offerings as his tomb, which was looted by command of Henry VIII in 1538. And if the pilgrim crowds that took their way through Kent were sometimes more merry than devout, we can be grateful to them and to 'the holy blisful martir' for suggesting the immortal prologue of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*.

We have seen that St. Anselm's name is specially connected with the settlement of the dispute concerning lay investiture, and the name of St. Thomas Becket with the principle that the spiritual body, the Church, must be the judge of spiritual things. But there was a notable member of the Church of England who took part in the actual struggle between the Empire and the papacy which touched the root of all such quarrels. This was the only English pope, Nicholas Brakespeare, who took the name of Hadrian IV. He was an English boy whose father entered a monastery, leaving his son to shift for himself. He went to France and Italy, and by his own merits rose to eminence. Pope Eugenius III, who made him Cardinal of Albano, sent him in 1152 to the Scandinavian kingdoms, and he skilfully promoted the organization of the Churches of Norway and Sweden. Learned and eloquent, he was elected Pope in 1154, and was resolute in his determination to claim for the Roman see everything that had been claimed by Gregory VII. But his assertion of the divine right of the popes was confronted

by an equally resolute assertion of the divine right of kings. The mighty Emperor Frederic I Barbarossa (1152–1190), was a lion in his path, a lion that he sometimes wounded but could never tame. Hadrian incensed the Romans by crowning him in St. Peter's Church in 1155, but two years later a breach between them began to widen. A Swedish archbishop was seized and imprisoned in Germany and Frederic refused to procure his release. The Pope then sent to the Diet held at Besançon Cardinal Roland of Siena with a letter which adroitly suggested that the Empire was a papal fief. The cardinal, who was greeted with cries of protest, then exclaimed, 'From whom then does the emperor hold the Empire if not from the Pope?' The assembly was so furious that he hardly escaped with his life, and the Pope was obliged to explain away his purposely ambiguous letter. Frederic was satisfied with his explanations, but a lasting peace was impossible, and Hadrian IV was only prevented from excommunicating his opponent by his death in 1159.[1]

The popes continued firmly to maintain the principle that the Pope is so supreme in the Christian Commonwealth that he can refuse to ratify the election of an emperor and can depose an emperor if he thinks fit. In this struggle both the Empire and the papacy approached the brink of ruin, and the papacy only secured a permanent victory over the German imperium by submitting to the yoke of France. France came into the foreground of ecclesiastical and political life very soon after the death of the Emperor Frederic II, in 1250. That versatile monarch, whose love of logic, medicine, and luxury caused it to be said that he was more a Muslim than a Christian, was excommunicated by Pope Gregory IX in 1239 and denounced with apocalyptic vigour. He was again excommunicated and deposed in 1245 by a general council held at Lyons under Pope Innocent IV, and he retaliated by threatening to reduce the Pope and his clergy to a condition of apostolic poverty. After some enjoyment of success his army sustained a crushing defeat in 1248 at Parma, where his harem and his imperial

[1] It is said that Hadrian, relying on the forged Donation of Constantine, gave Ireland to Henry II of England. But he seems to have proposed that the king should be feudal possessor of Ireland while recognizing the Pope as overlord, a proposal which Henry did not accept.

insignia were captured in a sortie made by the garrison. He never recovered from the blow, and died in December 1250. Innocent IV, when he heard of the death of his enemy, repeated the words of Psalm xcvi. 11, 'Let the heavens rejoice and let the earth be glad'. The Imperium was conquered and the Sacerdotium was victorious. The popes in a great measure owed their victory to the fact that they leaned upon lasting spiritual principles and the divine promise to St. Peter. But they misused their powers, and ended by appearing among the foremost of temporal monarchs rather than shepherds of the flock of Christ.

X

CRUSADES AND HERESIES

AMONG the most loyal adherents of Pope Gregory VII was Odo, a Frenchman, who became Pope with the name of Urban II, and reigned from 1088 to 1099. He had shown himself a vigorous subprior of the great monastery of Cluny, and was made Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, and when acting as legate in Germany he had been imprisoned by Henry IV. He showed all the determination of Gregory VII and more diplomacy. He skilfully extended his authority in France. He maintained good terms with Roger, the son of Robert Guiscard, the Norman ruler of Sicily and Apulia. He encouraged Conrad, the son of Henry IV, to rebel against his father. He united Italian and German opposition to the emperor by arranging a marriage between Matilda, Countess of Tuscany, then a middle-aged widow, and the eighteen-year-old son of Welf, Duke of Bavaria. The Welfs were well content, being ignorant of the fact that Matilda had left her vast lands to the papacy. Henry himself proved his own enemy by marrying again, this time a Russian princess named Praxedis, who laid before the Pope serious accusations against the conduct of her husband. Henry's position in Italy was completely shaken, while that of Urban was steadily strengthened, in spite of the presence of an antipope in Rome itself during the early days of his pontificate.

As though these triumphs were not sufficient, Urban was able to put himself at the head of a popular religious movement which immensely enhanced his importance. In 1095 he presided at a great synod at Piacenza. To this synod the Greek Emperor Alexius sent ambassadors to beg for help against the Muslims. It was indeed an anxious time for Christendom. Seven years before this date a new clan of Saracens, the Almoravides, had crossed from Africa to Spain and inflicted a severe defeat upon a Christian army near Badajoz, a defeat which was a counterpoise to the recovery of Toledo by the Christians in 1085. And now the Seljukid Turks, recent and ferocious converts to Islam, had established themselves within the historic walls of Nicaea, and in 1071 captured Jerusalem from the more tolerant Saracens of

Egypt. Christian pilgrims—for Christian pilgrims had never for long ceased to visit the holy places—returned with unhappy stories of their maltreatment by the Turks. Urban II heard the envoys of Alexius with sympathy, but he saw the necessity of appealing to a wider public. He felt that he would be on surer ground in his own country, so he summoned a council at Clermont-Ferrand in Auvergne.

He crossed the Alps and everywhere in France he was received with respect. When the council met at Clermont, in November 1095, he delivered before a vast concourse a moving discourse with an impassioned appeal on behalf of the persecuted Eastern Christians. The multitude replied with a shout of 'God wills it', and cut out crosses of stuff to fasten on their shoulders. The First Crusade was already brought to birth and Urban was its proud and honoured parent. Every method at the disposal of the Church was employed to secure success. Monks preached the crusade. Of the preachers Peter the Hermit and a poor knight, Gauthier 'sans Avoir' (Walter Lackpenny), were among the most popular and effective. Led by these two zealous enthusiasts, an unauthorized crusade, the crusade of a horde of French and German peasants and adventurers, set forth towards the East by way of Hungary and Bulgaria. The inhabitants of the lands along the Danube were infuriated by their excesses, the roads were strewn with their corpses, and when at last they reached Asia Minor the heat of the sun and the swords of the Turks devoured almost the whole of the lamentable band except Peter himself and some German nobles.

The official crusade was put in motion a little later. Urban II could not count upon the help of Philip of France, William Rufus of England, or Henry IV of Germany, for he had excommunicated all three. So the leaders were not kings, but nobles. Four armies began their march by four different routes. Raymond IV, Count of Toulouse, Godfrey de Bouillon and his brother Baldwin, leaders of the northern French, and Bohémond and Tancred, leaders of the Normans dwelling in Italy and the Italian crusaders, were, with the brothers of the King of France and Robert II, Count of Flanders, the generals of these armies. Godfrey, strong, of high character and gentle in his speech, became the most popular of them all, but Baldwin was quick to

understand the Oriental mind, and the tall Bohémond, with his white skin and blue-green eyes, was the ablest soldier, the commander who knew when and how to strike. Arrived in Asia, the Crusaders, in spite of the rivalries of their leaders and the murmurs of the soldiers, took Nicaea and then Edessa, which from early Christian times had been an outpost of Christianity. Then they captured the great and strongly fortified city of Antioch, where most of them gave themselves up to luxury and ease. Their luxury was soon followed by the extremity of hunger, for the Turks besieged them in their turn, and the Christian army was on the brink of despair. Their depression was overcome by a priest who claimed to have found the spear that pierced the side of Christ. The spear was borne in front of the enthusiastic ranks of the Christians, whom Bohémond marshalled with his wonted skill; the Turks were decisively defeated and their commander agreed to accept the Christian faith.

Again they took their ease, fought among themselves, and paid a heavy toll to the climate of Antioch. If Jerusalem was to be won it must be won quickly, or the army of the Crusaders would melt away. In spite of the fears of their leaders, the remnant were eager to march to the holy city. When they arrived there, in June 1099, it is probable that they had lost one half of a possible 30,000 that had reached Nicaea. Tortured with thirst, the soldiers fought with each other to obtain water at the pool of Siloam, the Muslims having destroyed every well that could be used by the invaders. The barons saw that all must be staked on one supreme effort, and Jerusalem was taken. Fearing that they would be attacked by Egyptian reinforcements, the Christian soldiers methodically massacred the inhabitants of Jerusalem, then met and killed the Egyptians at Ashkelon.

The First Crusade was followed within a space of one hundred and seventy years by six other Crusades, and their whole history is interwoven with tragedy and folly, religion and romance.

In 1144 Nuraddin, 'light of the faith', wrested from the Christians their frontier fortress, Edessa. The news was received in Europe with emotion, and Pope Eugenius III appealed

to the chivalry of France. The appeal was seconded by St. Bernard, who at first had distrusted the wisdom of a crusade.

St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) was an outstanding personality of the time, spiritually, intellectually, and in the power of communicating to others the fire which burned in his heart. Filled with zeal for holiness, he had gone at the age of twenty-two to the languishing Cistercian monastery near Dijon, taking with him an uncle, five brothers, and a group of young friends whom he had persuaded to dedicate themselves to God. The result was the growth of the Cistercian order which is one of the great features of the history of the twelfth century. Bernard's devotion, which was centred in the human life and suffering of Christ, led him to practice austerities which he afterwards saw were injurious to his health and usefulness. But his inner life and his love of contemplation were united with an extraordinary practical activity. It was manifested in his sermons, treatises, and letters, in the numerous monasteries which he founded, and in the part which he played in the gravest events of his age. He spoke with the same courage to popes and kings and peasants. Among the salient facts of his career was his intervention in the simultaneous election of Innocent II and Anacletus II to the papacy in 1130. Asked for his advice, he pronounced without hesitation in favour of the former; and during a struggle which lasted until the death of Anacletus in 1138 he gained many adherents for the Pope whom he protected.

Such was the man, saint, statesman, and preacher, who persuaded Conrad III of Germany to join Louis VII of France in the Crusade, and in 1147 the two monarchs set forth to meet the 'infidel'. Arrived in the East they made an initial mistake. They attacked Damascus, instead of trying to secure the friendship of the vizier, who might have helped them to checkmate Nuraddin. The attack was futile. They returned to Europe after covering themselves with discredit, and Nuraddin steadily continued his task of enveloping the Frankish colonies in the East until his death in 1174.

About five years before the death of Nuraddin the redoubtable Saladin, 'honouring the faith,' had conquered Egypt. It was the goal not only of the Christian Latins but also of the 'orthodox' (Sunni) Muslims, who hated the rival sect of Muslims as

much as the Latins detested the Greeks. Saladin's ambition was boundless, and he resolved to wrest Jerusalem from the Crusaders, who felt at ease in Zion. Muḥammad himself was believed to have been miraculously transported to Jerusalem, and such an enterprise was to Saladin a 'holy war', the most sacred and meritorious work in which a Muslim could engage. This was the belief that strengthened the resolution of his soldiers, and after a sharp battle at Tiberias they captured the holy city in 1187.

This fall of Jerusalem was followed by forty years of a struggle that was concentrated in the Third, the Fourth, and the Fifth Crusade. The Third Crusade (1189–1192) was the most imposing that had hitherto been launched. Nor did it lack a genuinely religious element, for the people of Europe were touched with a sense that if the Christian world had not sinned Jerusalem would not have fallen captive. Henry II of England and Philip Augustus of France laid aside their bitter quarrel and gave to each other the kiss of peace. The Emperor Frederic I Barbarossa, went to Asia Minor and penetrated it beyond Iconium, but was drowned in crossing a river, and only a feeble remnant of his soldiers survived their marches. The English Henry II was succeeded by his son Richard Cœur de Lion, who with the King of France betook himself to Acre. This important fortress had been besieged by the Christians for two years. The besiegers were perishing for want of water, and the besieged were dying for want of food. Richard captured the city and he refortified Jaffa. The Christian principality of Antioch was also saved. But the most remarkable event of this Third Crusade was the conclusion of a three years' truce between Richard and Saladin, a treaty which appears to have been dictated by genuine chivalrous respect on either side, and was accompanied with the strange proposal that Saladin's brother should marry Richard's sister Johanna.

In spite of the active interest which Pope Gregory VIII took in organizing the Third Crusade, it is evident that the crusading movement was slipping more than ever out of papal control into the hands of kings and statesmen. This was made sharply manifest in the Fourth and in the Fifth Crusade.

The Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) had as its first objective

Egypt, which was seen to be the true gateway of the East. The Crusaders, who were mostly French, sent envoys to Venice to negotiate for the passage of their army to Egypt. The Venetians, cunning merchantmen, demanded, in payment for their assistance, not only half of any conquests which the Crusaders might make, but also 85,000 marks. When it was told them that the Crusaders had not enough money to pay, it was suggested that the debt could be cleared if they would capture from the King of Hungary the seaport of Zara on the Adriatic. To the wrath of Pope Innocent III, the Crusaders took Zara. Nor did this infamy stop on the shores of the Adriatic. Philip, Duke of Swabia, who had a quarrel with the Pope, was by marriage related to the Greek prince, Alexius, son of the deposed emperor, Isaac Angelus. Philip induced the Crusaders to go to Constantinople; they entered it in November 1203 and proclaimed Alexius emperor with the title of Alexius IV. The city rebelled, the Crusaders besieged the city, and during the siege another Alexius was chosen emperor. A brave man, he fled when he saw that the city was doomed. He was captured and killed by the Crusaders, who in 1204 took the city and looted its almost unsearchable treasures. The only satisfaction to be derived from this repulsive story is the fact that some of these exquisite treasures, which are still to be found in Western museums and sacristies, were saved from the future clutches of the Turks by the avarice of the 'Franks'. Innocent III came gradually to acquiesce. He was dazzled by the hope of subjugating the Eastern Church to Rome, and a Venetian prelate was made Latin Patriarch of Constantinople.

The Fifth Crusade (1219–1222) was preceded by the piteous Children's Crusade, of which a faint tradition appears to survive in the legend of the Piper of Hameln, the magic of whose flute lured little children to follow him to an unknown world. A French shepherd boy named Stephen and a German boy named Nicolas persuaded thousands of children to begin a journey to the Holy Land, fully persuaded that miracles would attend them and bring them across the sea. They died or were captured and sold as slaves to the Muslims. The Fifth Crusade itself proved a dismal failure. It was led by John of Brienne,

titular King of Jerusalem, who was unfortunately accompanied by a papal legate with the ill-omened name of Pelagius. Damietta was captured and Malik-al-Kamil, the Sultan of Egypt, was ready to offer generous terms if the Crusaders would evacuate the country. The legate, however, demanded an indemnity as well as territory. The sultan's attitude then stiffened. He resolved to fight and soon cleared the country of its invaders.

The Sixth Crusade (1228–1229) was a lay crusade, cursed by the papacy but not unsuccessful. It was the work of the Emperor Frederick II. An adroit diplomatist, he established friendly relations with Al-Kamil, secured possession of Nazareth, Bethlehem, and Jerusalem, and crowned himself King of Jerusalem in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. For fifteen years Jerusalem was again a Christian city, and then again it fell in 1244, never to be recovered by crusading armies.

The Seventh Crusade (1248–1254) and the Eighth (1267–1270) were the Crusades of Saint Louis. This Louis IX, King of France, was a mirror of medieval chivalry and of devotion to God and man. Simple in his dress and most ascetic in his food, he maintained the full dignity of his court. Humble and constant in prayer, habitually rising at midnight to attend Mattins, and never hearing less than two masses a day, he was a brave and accomplished knight with a spice of irony and humour. He was without favourites and without affectation. He could be thrifty and prudent, but his darling object was to free the Holy Land, and when this object was concerned he threw to the winds both thrift and prudence. He was not content to build in Paris the Sainte-Chapelle to enshrine the Saviour's crown of thorns and other relics of the Passion. He must himself take the cross with his three brothers. He captured Damietta, but suffered a crushing defeat at Manṣura, where he was taken prisoner and not released until he had paid 400,000 pieces of gold to the Sultan of Egypt. After spending four years in the Holy Land, where he effected little, he returned to France where his presence was urgently needed.

But the heart of Saint Louis was not in France. He was determined to fight the infidel once more, and Prince Edward of England prepared to follow his example. The Crusaders left Aigues-Mortes in the south of France on July the 1st, 1270.

In a scorching sun they sailed for Tunis. Louis had been led to think that the Bey of Tunis was willing to be converted, he imagined that the Egyptians drew supplies from Tunis, and he longed to restore to Christendom the regions which had once been illuminated by the teaching of St. Augustine. After a voyage of seventeen days the fleet reached Carthage; then heat and disease began to do their work and mowed down the army like grass. Louis caught the plague and died murmuring 'Jerusalem, we shall go into Jerusalem'. But it was not the earthly Jerusalem that he saw and entered.

When Prince Edward, afterwards our King Edward I, reached Africa Louis was already dead, and to his wrath he found that the other chiefs of the crusade had made peace with the unbelievers. He swore by the blood of God that he would enter Acre, and he kept his word. It was in the Holy Land and on his birthday, June the 17th, 1272, that an assassin gave him the poisoned wound which Eleanor his wife was afterwards said to have sucked with her own lips. His forces were too small to achieve great permanent results. He made a ten years' truce with the sultan and came back to England. Thus the Crusades came to their inevitable and melancholy dissolution. And yet this end was not destitute of dignity, nor even of glamour, since the last great figures in the last real Crusade were the King of France who lived to pray, the King of England who honoured his own words, and the Castilian queen who was 'the lover of all the English' and beloved by them all.

The effect of the Crusades upon the history of the Church was wide and in some respects permanent. The First Crusade consolidated the papal theocracy, for it was Rome that planned and guided the movement that planted the cross on the mosque of Omar and set free the Holy Sepulchre. The military orders, composed of men who were both monks and soldiers, took their origin from the necessity of defending the frontiers of Christendom. Within those distant frontiers many Latin bishoprics[1] and monasteries were established, and efforts were made for uniting the Churches of the East with Rome. As early as 1098

[1] Among the Latin bishops in the East was Ralph, Bishop of Bethlehem, an Englishman who was chancellor under Baldwin III (1144–1163).

a synod was held at Bari in South Italy at which St. Anselm of Canterbury was present, and Latin and Greek theologians discussed the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Ghost. No solid result was attained, and the orthodox Greeks conceived a passionate hatred of the 'Franks' when the latter, on their pretended crusade of 1204, looted Constantinople, the second city in Christendom. With Orientals who were not Greeks Rome established more friendly relations. In 1182 the large Syrian Christian sect known as the Maronites accepted Roman supremacy, and their descendants in the Lebanon have remained faithful to the papacy. In Cilicia, about the same date, Rome secured the adhesion of a considerable number of Armenians. In Serbia, at the dawn of the thirteenth century, Pope Innocent III gained a temporary footing. The throne of Serbia was claimed by two brothers, Vulkan and Stephen, who in turn appealed to the Pope. The former won at the expense of recognizing the suzerainty of the King of Hungary and the jurisdiction of the Pope (1202). The King of Hungary died two years later, Stephen defeated Vulkan, and for a time the schemes of the Pope were frustrated.

More important than these attempts to promote reunion with Rome, was the stimulus given by the Crusades to peaceful missionary work among non-Christians, both heathen and Muslim. In 1252 Saint Louis sent the Franciscan William Rubruquis to the Great Khan in central Asia, hoping for the conversion of the new Mongol empire. The next year Pope Innocent IV created the first missionary society formed since the conversion of the West, the 'Peregrinantes propter Christum', and at the beginning of the fourteenth century active missionary work was in progress in Persia, India, China, and Tibet. Raymond Lull, the apostle to the Muslims, will be mentioned later (p. 163). The evangelistic activities of the Church were chilled by troubles nearer home in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but some knowledge of the East and its spiritual needs was gradually accumulated for future generations.

The early years of the thirteenth century witnessed in France certain vigorous movements opposed to the Church, movements which provoked a crusade against heresy more successful than

the crusades against Islam. France in fact was threatened by a religious revolution. It was a peril not only to the Church but also in a considerable degree to the State, a peril increased by the fact that it arose in the south of France, which differed widely from the north of France in language and in general culture. The revolutionary movement included two distinct elements. The more moderate element was essentially Christian, and might almost be described as an ascetic form of Methodism. The more extreme element was essentially non-Christian, and might be called an organized theosophy. The former was calculated to weaken the Catholic hierarchy, the latter was also of such a nature as to undermine the whole fabric of Christian society. The two sects are known respectively as the Vaudois or Waldensians, and the Albigenses or Cathari.

The Waldensians or Vaudois have been surrounded by a thick mist of legend since the sixteenth century. It became widely believed that the inhabitants of the Piedmontese valleys had preserved from primitive, if not actually apostolic, times a religion distinct from the religion of Rome and opposed to it. This legend has been shattered by a critical investigation of their literature. It has been shown that certain alleged early Waldensian writings are translated from Hussite Bohemian works, that their Confession of Faith, said to be ancient, is based on the works of the reformer Bucer, and that the manuscript of the Waldensian religious poem called the *Nobla Laiczon* or 'Noble Lesson' has had the year 1430 unscrupulously altered into 1130 in order to make it appear that there were Waldensians before Waldus began to preach.

Peter Valdo, Waldus, Valdez, or Valesius, was a rich citizen of Lyons who, in 1173, was deeply impressed by reading Christ's words to the rich young man in Matthew xix. 21. After bestowing his goods upon the poor and studying the Bible, he founded, in 1177, a society of men and women, who abandoned all worldly possessions and went forth two and two to preach the Gospel. The Archbishop of Lyons forbade their preaching. Valdo then appealed to the Pope, Alexander III. The Pope was not unsympathetic; he praised Valdo for taking the vow of poverty and gave him leave to preach if and where the clergy agreed. The Waldensians, however, were excommunicated in

1184 by Pope Lucius III, who describes them as the 'Poor men of Lyons'. They spread rapidly from Provence in the south to Lorraine in the north, and in 1210 Pope Innocent III tried to counteract their work by founding a society called the 'Poor Catholics', whom he allowed to preach and expound the Scriptures. They were to adopt apostolic poverty, dress, and life. This Catholic movement met with some success both in France and in Lombardy, where Valdo had secured a very large number of adherents. But in both countries it was eclipsed by the two great mendicant orders, that of St. Francis and that of St. Dominic, which did the same work with better resources and far greater results.

Some sharp differences of opinion separated the French and the Lombard Waldensians. The most important was that the French maintained, and the Lombards repudiated, the Catholic doctrine that the efficacy of the sacraments is not hindered by the unworthiness of the priest who administers them. Both parties held that priests were guilty of mortal sin if they assumed the privileges of their office without undertaking the obligation of apostolic poverty and a life such as is described in Luke x. They prohibited all swearing and also military service. Both parties also rejected the then current doctrines of indulgences and purgatory, and with them the celebration of requiem masses and the performance of good works by the living for the dead, practices which were becoming inextricably associated with indulgences. Valdo himself ordained 'ministers' for his sect. They had bishops, priests, and deacons, whose duties closely corresponded with those of the threefold ministry of the Church. Admission to the 'Society of the Brethren' was granted by ordination to the diaconate, which necessitated vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. The lay adherents or 'Friends' were not organized as independent communities, because they continued to share in the services and sacraments of the Catholic Church. But they also made their confessions to their own ministers, who imposed penances and absolved, or rather prayed for the absolution of the penitents. They were well versed in the Bible, which, with some extracts from the Fathers and the *Moralia* of St. Gregory, provided their favourite reading.

Fiercely persecuted in the thirteenth century, the remnants

of the Waldensians were in the fourteenth century mostly to be found in the valleys of the Cottian Alps. Large colonies moved from thence to Calabria and Apulia, where they were exterminated in 1561. Those in Piedmont were discovered late in the fifteenth century by the Bohemian Hussites, and there was a somewhat close intercourse between the two bodies. But it was not until the sixteenth century that the main body of the Waldensians adopted any specifically Protestant opinions. In 1520 one of their ministers, Martin of Lucerne, brought to them certain writings of the Reformers, and in 1530 two Waldensians, George Morel and Peter Masson, conferred with Oecolampadius and Bucer. The result was a synod held in 1532 at the Piedmontese village of Chanvoran, at which for the first time the Waldensians gave up reckoning the sacraments as seven, the invocation of saints, and auricular confession. They adopted the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination, and from that day until the present have been a Protestant community. After the Reformation the Waldensians were more fiercely persecuted than ever, and their sufferings inspired Milton's noble, if misleading, sonnet which begins,

> Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
> Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold ;
> Even them who kept thy truth so pure of old,
> When all our fathers worship'd stocks and stones.

The Albigenses were very different from their Waldensian neighbours, and far more dangerous. The survival of the Waldensians may be attributed partly to their sincere Christianity and partly to their poverty. But the Albigenses invited and provoked attack by their abundant riches no less than by their erroneous principles. Their earliest history is rather obscure. But it is a most significant fact that whereas they bore the Greek name of 'Cathari' or Puritans, their opponents in popular speech called them by two other names. One of these is simply a slightly corrupted form of the Southern Slav word for Bulgarian, and the other word, Publicani, is a corruption of Pauliciani. In the eighth and in the tenth century large numbers of Armenians who were members of the Unitarian sect of Paulicians[1] were trans-

[1] The Armenian Paulicians survived until the nineteenth century under the name of Thonraki. They infected some Russians peasants with their

planted by the Greeks into Thrace, and according to the Slavonic Life of St. Clement, Paulicians entered Bulgaria after his death in 916. This Unitarian and anti-sacramental sect had become infected with a dualistic theory which taught that physical matter is evil. The same theory was developed by a Slavonic sect called the Bogumili, Friends of God, who were already active in the tenth century.[1] They gained a firm hold over the Serbians and retained it for two centuries, until they were crushed in the reign of Stephen Nemanja. Many of the Bogumili then migrated to Bosnia and dominated the social life of the country until the time of the Turkish conquest of Bosnia. They then accepted Islam.

Although the town of Albi, famous for its wonderful cathedral church, gave to the Cathari their usual name of Albigenses, their first centre in France appears to have been Toulouse. They are found there in 1017, a century before the notable heretics Peter de Bruys and Henry of Lausanne, who are thought to have belonged to the same sect. In 1163 the Cathari held a general council at St.-Felix near Toulouse. In 1223 the Bogumili were in communication with the Cathari of Toulouse, and Matthew of Paris mentions the Pope of the Cathari, who lived between Croatia and Dalmatia. He was called by the Bogumili their 'Djed' (grandfather). The sect had originally no hierarchy, but gradually developed a simple organization. In the Balkans the vow of poverty was strictly enforced and marriage was only permitted to the inferior class of adherents.

Pope Innocent III endeavoured to counteract the work of the Cathari by vigorous evangelistic methods. These efforts met with only a meagre success, and in 1208 the murder of Pierre de Castelnau, the papal legate, by an adherent of the Albigenses, led to a change in the papal policy. In the next chapter a short account will be given of the persecution of the Cathari, a persecution which was almost an extermination. For the present we may observe that the diffusion of the doctrines of the Waldensians and the Cathari was the chief cause of the establishment

teaching and the Russians have carried the sect to Pennsylvania. They combine Paulician doctrine with a profound belief in magic and witchcraft. See *The Living Church*, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, March 2, 1929

[1] See above, p. 92.

of the papal Inquisition in the thirteenth century. Previous to that date bishops exercised inquisitorial powers by virtue of their authority to guard the deposit of the faith. They did not put the heretics to death by the agency of their own officials, but they might leave them to the mercy of a mob, or hand them over to 'the secular arm'. But merely local authorities, whether ecclesiastical or civil, are frequently lenient, and the popes began to think that the work would be done better by commissioners of their own choosing. So we find after the time of Innocent III papal inquisitors, who were selected from the ranks of the Dominicans and Franciscans. After various preliminary steps the papal Inquisition was put on a definite basis in 1252 by the bull *Ad extirpanda* of Innocent IV. The immediate cause of this bull was the murder at Verona of the inquisitor St. Peter Martyr, a persecutor of the Cathari of Lombardy.

These papal inquisitors could not carry on their work against the wish of the diocesan bishops and the temporal princes. And in view of the events of a later time it is worth noting that they were not admitted into England, nor into Portugal and Castile, where the extermination of the Jews was almost as thorough as that of the Cathari in Languedoc.

XI

THE PAPACY SUPREME

FREDERIC I (1152–1190), Roman Emperor, surnamed by the Italians Barbarossa, 'Redbeard', was determined to realize the ideals of Charlemagne as to Church and State. Chaste and courageous, hard working and sagacious, he was one of the ablest rulers that Germany produced in the Middle Ages. He was chosen German king at Frankfurt in 1152 and after some difficulties with Pope Hadrian IV, whose stirrup he at first refused to hold, he was crowned emperor at Rome in 1155. He was in constant conflict with the Italians, whom he treated as if they were aliens, and with the popes, whom he regarded as rivals. In 1166 he marched on Rome, stormed the Leonine city, and procured the enthronement in St. Peter's of an antipope, Paschal III. He made peace in 1177 with Pope Alexander III, who had previously excommunicated him, kissed his foot, and agreed to submit to arbitration his dispute with the Pope as to which of the two had the right to possess the vast estates which had been left by Matilda, Countess of Tuscany. His quarrel with the papacy was renewed in 1185 when Urban III became Pope. Soon afterwards the great Muslim Saladin took Jerusalem, and Barbarossa was more anxious to conquer the foe of all Christendom than to get the better of a pope. He set out from Regensburg in June 1189 at the head of a fine army, and reached Asia Minor. He was drowned in a river near Seleucia in Cilicia, and the place of his burial remains unknown. His eldest son became emperor as Henry VI.

Henry VI (1190–1197), cruel, capable, and ambitious, hoped to make the imperial dignity hereditary in his family and aspired to an almost universal dominion. In order to gain his own ends he was prepared to make important concessions to the Pope, possibly even the feudal lordship over the whole Empire. He pushed his rule in Italy nearly to the gates of Rome and induced Pope Celestine III to crown him emperor in Rome in 1191. He died in Sicily in 1197 from a cold caught when hunting, leaving as his heir Frederic II, a child of three years. Celestine died the next year, and the path was left clear for the

accession of a Pope who raised the papacy to a height unknown before.

Pope Innocent III (d. 1216) was an ecclesiastical Barbarossa, and brought the medieval papacy to the zenith of its power. In the world he was Lotario, Count of Segni, a wealthy aristocrat of mixed German and Roman lineage. Skilled in the study of law and politics, his life was strict and pious. Before he was raised to the papal throne he had written a work on the *Scorn of the World*, and he showed his self-control by not shortening the canonical time that elapsed before his ordination to the priesthood and the episcopate. He had to face a situation which was complicated with grave difficulties, political, moral, and religious, and he faced it with a resolution that had important and permanent results. The ends which he endeavoured to attain were to secure the political freedom and supremacy of the papacy in Italy, to uphold the spiritual supremacy of the papacy in opposition to all secular potentates, to rescue Eastern Christianity from the Muslims and bind it to Rome, and to exterminate heresy, especially in southern France, which was its peculiar hotbed.

Innocent first secured his authority in Rome, and after a struggle made the municipality obedient to his will. This was, even by itself, no insignificant victory; but it was followed by a masterly success in breaking the German ring which surrounded the so-called Patrimony of St. Peter in central Italy. He added Spoleto and Ravenna to his dominions, and became president of a league of Tuscan cities which had formed part of the inheritance of Matilda.

The relations of Innocent III with France vividly illustrate the difficulties which beset the papacy at this period. Philip Augustus, King of France, was a widower, and he resolved to marry Ingeborg, sister of Knut VI, King of Denmark. The Danes had a good navy and were sailors of an old fighting breed. So the French king thought that they would be useful for his intended invasion of England. Knut refused to take part in this adventure, and Philip Augustus demanded with his bride a dowry of 10,000 marks. The Dane considered this sum a high price to pay even for an alliance with France. But he paid it because he was persuaded that France would protect him against

German encroachments. The bride was both beautiful and virtuous, and the marriage was celebrated at Amiens in August 1193. The next day, during the ceremony of the coronation, Ingeborg observed that her husband turned pale and showed feelings of aversion towards herself. Contemporaries attributed his behaviour to the influence of sorcery, but the problem of its cause is still unsolved. It remains certain that the king was bent upon immediately divorcing his wife, and actually obtained a sentence of divorce from his complaisant clergy. The hapless Ingeborg, on learning her sentence, cried *Mala Francia, mala Francia . . . Roma, Roma.* And to Rome her brother appealed.

Pope Celestine III sent to France letter after letter and legate after legate. Philip Augustus was obdurate, and to render the divorce irrevocable he sought in marriage the hands of at least three princesses. They prudently refused his advances, and he had to content himself with Agnes de Méran, daughter of a Bavarian noble. Ingeborg was removed to castles and monasteries according to the whim of her lord and master, and complained of rudeness, poor food, and the want of the consolation of religion.

In the meantime Innocent III had become Pope. He told Philip Augustus that the dignity of a king was not to be set above the duties of a Christian, and he put France under an interdict. The king resisted for several years, then professed to yield, and on September the 8th, 1200, the interdict was removed. The next year a Council was held at Soissons at which both sides of the question were elaborately argued, until a simple priest, coming forward from a crowd of spectators, defended the cause of Ingeborg with an eloquence that threatened to carry all before it. The king said that he would be reconciled with his wife. He went off to the abbey of Notre-Dame, where she was living, placed her on his own horse, and rode off at a gallop. This does not mean that he abandoned Agnes de Méran, but her death that year seems to have frightened him into a desire to make peace with Rome, and Innocent met him half-way by pronouncing legitimate the two children of Agnes.

This, however, did not end the quarrel. Philip Augustus continued to demand a divorce, and Innocent III showed miracles of diplomacy in dealing with the two contending parties.

In 1213, when the conflict had lasted twenty years, the king yielded. He took back Ingeborg, if not as his wife, yet as his queen, and she kept her royal rank until her death in 1223. His motive was probably a fresh desire to conquer England. Otherwise he would have continued to flout the papacy as he had flouted it for twenty years, even in a grave matter where he was wholly in the wrong.

Innocent's relations with England must now claim our attention. In 1206 a vacancy occurred in the see of Canterbury, and the right to choose a new archbishop was disputed between the bishops of the province and the monks of the monastery of Christchurch. King John thrust in a man chosen by himself. Innocent then took the matter into his own hands and with rare discernment appointed Stephen Langton, a prebendary of York, educated in Paris. John resisted, with the result that the country was laid under an interdict. The king himself was excommunicated in 1209, and in 1212 declared to be deposed. John was now afraid of Philip Augustus, who had patched up his quarrel with the Danes. He therefore accepted Stephen Langton and surrendered his kingdom to the Pope. He received it back as a papal fief and agreed to pay the Pope an annual tribute. So far Innocent's triumph was complete. Still chafing under the conviction that the English barons intended to demand reforms which he was not ready to grant, John sent an embassy to the Emir of Morocco, though it is doubtful whether he did, or did not, offer to embrace the religion of Muḥammad. Reduced to temporary impotence by the defeat of his army at Bouvines in France, he signed in 1215 *Magna Carta*, which was in fact a treaty between himself and his own subjects, in which the liberties of all classes were secured. John was frantic with vexation, fortified his castles, garrisoned them with mercenaries, and procured from the Pope letters excommunicating his enemies. The excommunication was published, Langton left England, and John seized the estates of his see. The Pope sharpened his sentence of excommunication by excommunicating the rebel lords by name, and his legate, Gualo, forbade Louis, son of the King of France, to invade England. Louis defied the Pope, landed in Kent, and gained many strong adherents. The

whole country was torn with strife until John, who is said to have surfeited himself with peaches and ale, died of dysentery and fever after sending a letter commending his children to the new Pope, Honorius.

John was succeeded by his son Henry III. Pope Honorius III was bound in honour and self-interest to protect him. The new King of England was crowned without delay at Gloucester, where he did homage to his suzerain the Pope in the person of Gualo, and in 1220, by the Pope's directions, he was crowned at Westminster by Stephen Langton. Henry lived to rebuild the abbey church of Westminster almost as it stands to-day, and erected within it a gorgeous shrine for Edward the Confessor.

Langton is one of the great figures of this crucial period. He was learned and sincere, essentially English in his combined love of law and love of liberty. It is to Langton more than any other man that England owes the great charter of her freedom. And his resolute attitude towards the king had a parallel in his opposition to the Pope, who in vain commanded him to excommunicate the barons who curbed the king's injustice.

To exterminate heresy in the south of France was among the great desires of Innocent III. He has been denounced for inaugurating a crusade of Christians against Christians. But the Cathari cannot fairly be described as Christians, and Innocent at least showed that he preferred persuasion to persecution. In 1194 the powerful Raymond VI became Count of Toulouse. His morals were entirely Oriental and he was probably indifferent to all creeds, but he openly favoured the Cathari, and was said to have allowed his son to be brought up in their tenets. Among the clergy there were a few like Azevedo, Bishop of Osma, and Dominic, the subsequent founder of the Dominicans, who tried to combat heresy by fervent preaching, and by lives of apostolic hardship. Others like Folquet, Bishop of Marseilles, and a papal legate, Pierre de Castelnau, were in favour of harsher measures, and these measures the Pope was ultimately persuaded to adopt. Folquet became Bishop of Toulouse in 1206. Pierre excommunicated Raymond VI, and in revenge a squire of the count mortally wounded the legate in January 1208. Pierre, after praying to God to forgive his

murderer, received the Holy Communion and died the next day at dawn. Innocent was deeply moved when he heard the news, and took the solemn step of renewing the excommunication of Raymond, absolving his subjects from their oath of allegiance and giving to all Catholics the right to pursue his person and occupy his lands.

Raymond bent beneath the storm. He was ready to accept the hardest conditions imposed by the Pope. He surrendered seven castles, took an oath to expel the heretics, and submitted to being led, naked to the waist, by a papal legate into the church of Saint-Gilles, where he was first thrashed and then absolved. This dramatic scene was enacted on June the 18th, 1209. But it was too late to save Languedoc. An army of Catholics from northern and central France with a throng of bishops and Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, had assembled at Lyons and in July the war began.

The first triumph of the invaders was the capture of Béziers, a town belonging to Raymond Roger, a patron of the heretics, like the Count of Toulouse. Men, women, and children were massacred without mercy. Castle after castle and town after town fell before the fanatical crusaders, who manifested peculiar joy whenever there fell into their hands one of the so-called *Perfect*, the highest caste of the Cathari. Many of the victors returned home after they had fulfilled their vow of fighting for forty days. Others remained, some of them hoping to setttle in a promised land nearer than the Jerusalem sought by the soldiers of previous crusades. By 1215 the independence of Languedoc was a thing of the past, the country was under a new government, both military and sacerdotal, and the common people accepted a régime which at least was some protection against the feudal anarchy from which they had previously suffered. Innocent did not behave with the same bitterness as his legates. He received the unfortunate Raymond at Rome and showed the same consideration towards his son and his ambassadors.

The almost world-wide power of Innocent III was demonstrated in 1215, when he convened the fourth Lateran Council, reckoned by the Roman Catholic Church as the twelfth Oecumenical Council. It was attended by plenipotentiaries of

the emperor and of many kings and princes. There were 412 bishops and some 800 priors and abbots. The extraordinary personal ascendancy of the Pope was shown by the fact that though the states represented were vitally concerned with some of the business transacted, the vast assembly did not discuss, but simply endorsed, what the Pope decreed. The seventy decrees began with a confession of faith directed against the Cathari and the Waldensians. The first chapter contains the following important statement in regard to transubstantiation:

'There is one universal Church of the faithful, outside which no one at all is in a state of salvation. In this Church Jesus Christ himself is both priest and sacrifice; and His body and blood are really contained in the sacrament of the altar under the species of bread and wine, the bread being transubstantiated into the body and the wine into the blood by the power of God, so that, to effect the mystery of unity, we ourselves receive of that which is His, what He himself received of that which is ours. And moreover, no one can consecrate this sacrament except a priest who has been duly ordained according to the keys of the Church, which Jesus Christ himself gave to the apostles and their successors.'

Students of medieval theology will observe that this statement is much more restrained than some other statements found in medieval writers, for it contains nothing that suggests a material presence of Christ and does not definitely assert that only the 'accidents' of bread and wine remain when transubstantiation has taken place.

The Council further declared it to be the duty of every Christian, of either sex, who had arrived at years of discretion, to confess sins at least once a year and to receive the Eucharist at least at Easter. Laymen were to confess to their own priest, but with his permission they might have recourse to a 'discreet and cautious' priest outside. Severe penalties were threatened in the case of a priest who betrayed any secret confided to him in confession. Such a one was to do perpetual penance in a strict monastery. The Lateran Council of 1215 thus makes a milestone in the history of the Church's penitential system. For it shows the whole Western Church definitely accepting what had for some time been the common custom both south and north of the Alps, the custom of private confession and private

absolution with the priest as the minister of reconciliation. The public features of the older Western, and specially Roman, system disappear, and the confession is made before a priest, and not necessarily before a bishop or a priest who is the bishop's special delegate. The newer method first took its origin among the Celtic Christians of Great Britain and Ireland, so it was from northern Europe that Rome learned the value of private and recurring sacramental confession.

The far-reaching nature of papal rule at this period can be illustrated from every quarter of ecclesiastical life. The power of the metropolitans was weakened and their dependence upon Rome continued to be proclaimed by their wearing round their necks the pallium without which they could exercise no jurisdiction. The papal recommendations to vacant sees (*Preces*, whence those so recommended were called *Precistae*) were, from the time of Innocent III, changed into *Mandata*. The right of confirming all episcopal elections was claimed by Alexander III. The authority of the bishops was reduced by papal absolutions, dispensations to break Church rules, and the right of canonization which Alexander III, in 1181, claimed as an exclusively papal prerogative. The popes were represented abroad by legates who were charged with diplomatic negotiations, visitations of churches, and the function of presiding at provincial councils. The Roman Curia, which embraced the various tribunals and departments for dealing with the general business of the Church, deriving its authority from the Pope, increased in bulk and importance. The cost of maintaining it was enormous, and had to be defrayed by the fees levied for the granting of the pallium, confirmation of elections, dispensations, and the more ordinary offerings such as Peter's pence.

In the meantime the decisions already given by the popes were gathered into a body of doctrine and promulgated as laws for the Christian world. Innocent III, Honorius III, and Gregory IX employed their jurists to collect the more important of these rulings, and Gregory's decrees became 'the definite repository of the canon law'.[1]

The Pope was therefore the supreme legislator, as he was the

[1] Achille Luchaire, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. xx, p. 698.

universal judge, of what was in Western Christendom acknowledged to be the entire Church of Christ. He was an absolute monarch, the indispensable head of the episcopate and of the Church itself. The doctrine of papal infallibility, if not already contained in germ in the action of the popes, is plainly akin to the whole idea of an absolute papal monarchy. St. Thomas Aquinas, the greatest theologian of the Middle Ages, taught that the Pope, when giving his decisions as head of the Church, is infallible. Thus infallibility in practice came to be followed by infallibility in dogma, though the dogma had to wait several centuries before it was finally accepted.

The age of Innocent III, a period of political, social, and religious ferment, became focussed in the lives of St. Francis and St. Dominic, the founders of the mendicant orders.

Francis was born in or near 1182, the son of Pietro Bernadone, a rich cloth merchant of Assisi, and of Pica, his wife. Pica is said to have been a native of Provence, and from her it is most probable that Francis derived his love for France, and some knowledge of the sects which criticized the wealth and luxury of the Church. With great refinement of manners he united a love of music and song, and he delighted in all the works of God, sun and moon, flowers and birds. After a year as a prisoner of war in Perugia, he had a long illness, and when convalescent found to his wonder that he could no longer feel his former joy in the scenery of Umbria, the Eden of Italy. He began to be silent and absent-minded; and we hear of his meeting with a leper, hearing a voice from a crucifix in a ruined church, leaving his father's house, and appearing as a beggar amid a jeering crowd in the streets. His father was furious with vexation, and father and son appeared together in the bishop's court to decide the right to certain moneys which belonged to Bernadone, but had been appropriated to pious uses by his son. The bishop naturally decided against Francis, who not only paid back the moneys but at once stripped off his clothes because his father had paid for them. In this scene Dante discerned the espousals of the saint with Poverty, his bride. But he had as yet no clear views as to what his work should be.

He fixed his home near the lonely chapel of Santa Maria della

Porziuncula, 'the little portion', which was to become the birthplace of his order. And at Mass on a day in February 1209 he heard the words of the Gospel, 'Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses, nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves.'

He went back to Assisi and preached in the streets. He won disciples immediately, men who, like himself, sold all that they had and gave to the poor. When they numbered twelve they went to Rome and Pope Innocent III gave his verbal sanction to their rule. The Pope was cautious, but the evident earnestness of Francis and his companions overcame his scruples. They returned to Umbria and wandered about the country, preaching and singing, working in the fields for food, or begging when no wages were paid to them. They possessed nothing but the rough clothes that they wore. Not even a book was allowed them, for books were costly things.

In 1212 a young and noble lady of Assisi, Clara Scifi, left her father's house and fled to the Porziuncula. She put herself under the direction of Francis and became the founder of the order of Poor Clares. No one understood him better, and she was his firm friend until he died, and his body was brought to her convent to receive the last farewell of herself and her sisters. Happy in the friendship of St. Clara, he was no less fortunate in the support which he received from Cardinal Ugolino. This eminent canonist became the 'Protector' of the order, and it was probably he who suggested a better organization of it, including the institution of separate 'provinces' with 'ministers' over them. Leaving two vicars to exercise his authority during his absence, Francis went to the East, and in 1219 had his famous interview with the Sultan of Egypt near Damietta. The sultan was not unfriendly, and wished to give him presents, which were declined by the intrepid missionary. Before returning to Europe Francis planted the first Franciscan colony in the Holy Land. Shortly afterwards he resigned the generalship of the order in favour of Elias of Cortona, a resolute and prudent guide.

Ugolino gave a fresh proof of his wisdom by supporting the 'Third Order' of lay people who lived in the world but did not desire to be of the world. It was an admirable means of reviving

Christianity among the classes which were most in danger of being alienated from the faith. Men and women were able to go about their ordinary work, undertaking certain duties which bound them to one another and to the Church, and filled them with a new enthusiasm. The success of this institution was so great that it can hardly be measured: in a few years' time half of Christendom was penetrated by the lives of people who had a sense of the Gospel message, and while they were servants of the Pope they were also witnesses to Christ. Francis revised his rule in 1221 and again two years later, inflexibly maintaining his opposition to the possession of books by any member of the order. He took the draft to Rome and submitted it to Pope Honorius III, who solemnly approved it, though the nature of holy poverty was left undefined, and a cause of serious trouble was thereby bequeathed to future times.

The Christmas after his rule was finally settled he was in the hermitage of Greccio, when he instituted the simple and touching Christmas custom of having a representation of the manger, the 'crib', of the Babe of Bethlehem. The next August, in the still wilder retreat of Alvernia, after a prolonged season of loneliness and meditation, he saw the vision of the seraph crucified, and began to bear in his body the 'stigmata' of the five wounds of the Redeemer. The fact that he was thus marked appears to be beyond dispute, and is corroborated by modern cases of a similar character. Suffering alike from great weakness and failing eyesight, he set out to visit a physician at Rieti. On his way he stopped at San Damiano to see Sister Clara, and after a night of acute suffering he uttered his most famous song, the 'Canticle of Brother Sun'. He was carried to Rieti, to Siena, and to Assisi. There he bade two brothers sing that last Canticle, but he interrupted their words with the 142nd Psalm, and died after blessing the brothers, bidding them to love God and poverty and 'to put the Holy Gospel before all other ordinances'. The day was October the 3rd, 1226.

It is doubtful whether any other man did as much as Francis to rescue Christianity from being submerged by utter worldliness and by fantastic heresies, and his secret lay in his complete devotion to Jesus Christ and in his love of every person and every thing that God created.

The unique place which St. Francis has always occupied in the affection and piety of the Christian world has tended to obscure the fame of his great contemporary, St. Dominic.

St. Dominic was born in 1170 at Calaroga in Old Castile. After spending several years in study at Palencia, he was ordained and became a canon in the cathedral church of Osma. The bishop persuaded his canons to follow the rule of St. Augustine, and Dominic soon became the prior of the cathedral community of Augustinian canons. He repaired to Rome with his bishop and was charged by Innocent III with the duty of preaching to the Albigenses in Languedoc. He devoted himself to this work for about ten years (1205–1215). The fundamentally destructive character of the Albigensian heresy, and the devastating war by which it was exterminated, have been already described. It remains to be added that, although he was on good terms with the ruthless Simon de Montfort, there is no proof that Dominic acted as Inquisitor during the Albigensian war, or that he abandoned his spiritual campaign against the heretics to take part in the crusade. His method was to travel about the country on foot and barefooted in utter poverty, preaching, teaching, and disputing. He made a considerable number of converts, but by no means as many as he desired. And his last sermon in Languedoc threatened that blows might avail where blessings had accomplished nothing.

The order of Dominicans, the 'Preaching Friars', grew out of a band of volunteers who had joined him in his work among the Albigenses. He became filled with the idea that this band might grow into a body of men specially devoted to preaching. The idea was fostered by the Bishop of Toulouse, and in 1216 Pope Honorius III gave his full sanction to the plan. Two general chapters held at Bologna in 1220 and 1221 gave the order a definite form. A special dress was adopted, a white woollen habit with a black cloak, the rule of the Augustinian canons was blended with that of the Premonstratensians, the order was divided into provinces, each under its own provincial, and all under a supreme master-general residing in Rome. At the desire of St. Dominic, and in direct imitation of the Franciscans, it was determined that the poverty of the friars should not be merely individual poverty, as among the monastic orders, but

corporate. The order was to have no possessions except its buildings, it was to be a mendicant order, living on charity and by begging.

Dominic died in 1221, having never been able to fulfil his desire of preaching to the Kuman Tatars on the Dnieper and the Volga. But his friars spread rapidly, first through the Latin countries, then to the Slavonic countries, and soon into Greece, Palestine, and central Asia. St. Hyacinth, a Pole received by St. Dominic, travelled in Tibet and northern China, and in the fourteenth century the Dominicans had missions in China, Persia, and India. They were in Oxford in 1221, and by the end of that century had fifty friaries in England. The name of Blackfriars in London, like the name of the Franciscan Greyfriars in Edinburgh, testifies to the former activity of the mendicant orders in our cities. The scholastic organization of the Dominicans is inseparably connected with their work in and beyond Europe. They quickly established in their different provinces veritable schools of arts—logic, natural science, ethics, and politics. To their initiative in this direction the Dominicans owed their predominance in culture. From the first their theology bore a philosophic stamp, and they produced the most famous philosophers of the thirteenth century. The general chapter of 1236 gave an impulse to the study of Oriental languages by ordering that in all provinces of the order the languages of the country must be learned. In this way Greek, Arabic, and Hebrew were studied. The Dominicans also took a preponderating part in the life of the great European universities. In some cases the Dominican schools of theology were simply juxtaposed to the universities which did not possess a theological faculty, and later these universities included the Dominican schools, as had been previously done by Paris and Oxford, which had faculties of theology before the Dominican order was founded.

In St. Francis and St. Dominic the religion of authority met and espoused the religion of the spirit.

XII

THE THREE RELIGIONS IN SPAIN

IN the eleventh century the alternate despotism and disintegration which marked Muslim rule in Spain gave the Christians their opportunity. The epoch of Christian chivalry and adventure begins with Ferdinand I, who was roughly contemporary with the glorified freebooter who was called in Arabic 'Cid' (Lord), and in Spanish 'Campeador' (Champion). Ferdinand, unlike the Cid, was a pious Christian as well as a brave warrior. He inherited Castile, he took possession of Leon, his wife's inheritance, and he began to press back the Muslims. He died in 1065. Twenty years later his son Alfonso VI overran Muslim Spain and captured the strong city of Toledo, the fall of which resounded throughout Islam. He favoured the Mozárabes, the Christians who had adopted the language of the Arabs, with the strange result that the name 'Mozárabic' became applied to their old Latin service books, which differed widely from the Roman rite. From the date of its conquest in 1085 Toledo has kept the two different Latin rites. There are still families in the city who proudly regard the Mozárabic liturgy as their own, trace their descent from the time before the conquest, and only intermarry with the adherents of the Roman rite under minute regulations which the Church has sanctioned.

Alarmed by the fall of Toledo, the Muslim princes of Spain invited the help of Yusef I, the head of a Berber horde of North Africa, the Almoravides, and founder of the fourth Muslim dynasty in Morocco and Spain. After a century of varying fortunes the Christians made a supreme effort and met their foes heroically in 1212 on the plains of Las Navas de Tolosa. They won the day, and until 1257 their progress was rapid and unbroken. The Christian leader was Ferdinand III, 'San Fernando' (1199–1252). Cordova was taken in 1236, and the fortress of Jaen in 1246, when Ferdinand made a profitable treaty with the King of Granada. Seville itself, with its huge mosque and magnificent 'Giralda' tower, was occupied in 1248. Ferdinand's Muslim and Jewish subjects together were probably equal in number to his Christians, and he dealt well with all.

Just as there had been 'Mozárabes' under a fairly tolerant Muslim rule, so there were now under Christian rule a vast number of 'Mudéjares', Muslim 'tributaries'. And by the close of the thirteenth century there were hardly any independent Muslims left in Spain outside the comparatively small kingdom of Granada with its cities Granada and Malaga. Here Muslim culture showed an almost magical power of revival, a revival of which the Alhambra remains as a lovely memorial.

It was the usual custom for the Christian conquerors to leave the Mudéjares undisturbed in the practice of their religion and their customs. They had their own mosques and schools, their own shambles for the slaughter of animals. They abounded in Valencia and various districts of southern Spain: in Valencia mosques were said to be as numerous as churches. The people were industrious, skilful, and thrifty. They excelled in works of agriculture and irrigation. Their pottery was beautiful, their fabrics of silk and cotton were exquisite, they were good masons, and many buildings in the Mudéjar style testify to their artistic feeling.[1] It is probable that with continued kindly treatment they would have become assimilated to the Christians. Many spoke Spanish even when they wrote it in Arabic letters. In fact as early as 1300 they were beginning to forget Arabic, and the extinction of Arabic would almost certainly have brought with it the disappearance of the Qur'ān and its religion.

The Jews of Spain in the thirteenth century enjoyed a freedom which has few parallels in the Middle Ages. They showed great ability in finance and furnished one king after another with the money necessary for his enterprises. Each community had its rabbis under a Rabb mayor like a Christian bishop. They were under their own laws and their own judges. Their sabbaths were undisturbed and they were even allowed to practice polygamy. After Jaime I of Aragon conquered Minorca, in 1232, he took all Jews who settled there under his protection. When San Fernando conquered Seville, in 1248, he allotted the Jews four mosques to be converted into synagogues. Alfonso X patronized

[1] The magnificent churches of Mexico show an extraordinary vitality of Mudéjar decorative art in wood carving, plaster, and especially in coloured tiles. Blended with other styles this work persisted till about A.D. 1800.

Jewish men of learning, he built for them an observatory at Seville, and at Toledo permitted them to erect the fine synagogue in a Judaeo-Moorish style now known as Santa Maria la Blanca.[1] Open controversy did not necessarily occasion violence, for in 1263 the Dominican Fray Pablo Christiá, a converted Jew, challenged a great rabbi to a disputation which was presided over by Jaime I in his palace at Barcelona. Each champion claimed the victory; and the king gave the rabbi a generous gift, while he issued a decree ordering his faithful Jews to listen reverently to Fray Pablo.

In the thirteenth century certain popes endeavoured to stir up Spanish fanaticism against the Jews and the Moors, but with very indifferent success. The Spanish Church took no notice, but in 1312 the Spanish bishops who went to France to take part in the Council of Vienne returned with an entirely new zeal against the Jews. At the Council of Zamora, in 1313, canons were passed to limit the intercourse between Jews and Christians. That there was some ground for alarm is suggested by the fact that the Council of Valladolid, in 1322, refers to the scandals caused by the Moors and Jews coming to Christian services, and the employment of Moors and Jews to sing and play musical instruments in church. The Council of Tarragona, in 1329, throws more light upon the prevailing intercourse between the adherents of the three different religions of Spain by deploring the attendance of Christians at the marriages and circumcisions of Jews and Moors, and actually acting as godparents of non-Christians. In 1388 the Council of Valencia enforced the suspension of labour on Sundays, a requirement necessitated by the mixed households in which a Jew or a Muslim had Christian servants.

In the meantime popular hatred of the Jews was steadily increasing. As money-lenders they charged exorbitant rates of interest, not resting satisfied with the legal rate of 20 per cent. or even $33\frac{1}{3}$. As farmers of taxes they turned taxation into

[1] Another beautiful synagogue in Toledo became the church 'El Transito'. It may be noted that Eastern Christians disliked using mosques as churches unless these mosques, as at Salonika, had been built originally for Christian worship. The Catholics of Spain, on the contrary, turned mosques and synagogues into churches just as the Muslims turned into mosques the cathedrals of Damascus and Constantinople.

a form of merciless speculation and exaction, and their ostentatious display of wealth exasperated every class of gentile. This exasperation came to a head in 1391. The rabble of Seville, inflamed by the preaching of a sincere but fanatical archdeacon, Ferran Martinez, attacked the wealthy Jewish quarter of the city, looted the houses, and slew some four thousand of the inhabitants. The flame of persecution spread from one city of Castile to another, and in Valencia, in spite of the precautions taken by King Juan I of Aragon, the scenes of massacre were repeated. Up to this date the conversions from Judaism to Christianity had been rare. But the terror created by the massacres of 1391 was so great that multitudes of Jews demanded baptism, and we find henceforth in Spain a large community known as 'Conversos' or 'Maranos' (Accursed), some of whom became the deadliest enemies of Judaism.

It is a startling fact that the thirteenth century, which witnessed a rapid decline of Muslim material power in Spain, witnessed a widespread growth of Muslim influence on Christian philosophy. The Arab is not by nature philosophic. But the establishment of Muslim dynasties in Damascus and Baghdad brought Islam into close contact with the Christianity of cultivated Greeks and Syrians, and Greek and Syriac books on medicine, astronomy, mathematics, and philosophy were eagerly translated into Arabic. In the meantime, points of divergence arose among the Muslims themselves, and discussions as to the unity of God, predestination and freewill, reason and tradition, led them to make use of the weapons of Greek philosophy. The Greek word 'philosopher' was adopted, and was applied to thinkers who professed Islam but based their teaching on Greek philosophy, whereas the theologians might borrow philosophic arguments from the Greeks, but based their teaching directly upon the Qur'ān.

For these Muslim philosophers Aristotle was an authority without a rival; their God is the God of Aristotle, seen, however, through a glass tinted with Neo-Platonism and Persian thought. They were Muslim Peripatetics. Al-Kindi in the ninth century, Al-Farābi in the tenth, expounded Aristotle, interpreting their great master in their own way and therefore with their own

personal contributions to his system. A generation later than Al-Farābi there was born in the East of Persia the greatest of Muslim philosophers and one of the greatest thinkers of the eleventh century, Ibn Sīnā, known in the West as Avicenna, poet, mathematician, physician, and, above all, philosopher. His exoteric teaching is essentially Aristotelian, while he classifies the sciences and presents his theories with greater clearness than Aristotle himself. Two points with which the Arab philosophers especially concerned themselves are prominent in his works, the nature of the eternity of the world and its creation, and the nature of the active Intellect which proceeds from God, works in all rational souls, and is the source of prophetic inspiration. He held that the world is eternal; but he also held that it is contingent and not necessary, because it might have been other than it actually is. Therefore it has a cause, eternal and necessary, God himself. In this way he attempted to safeguard the doctrine of the creation of the world by God.

In his esoteric teaching Ibn Sīnā mixes Aristotelianism with the mysticism of the Persian Sufis, who taught that by asceticism and meditation the soul can free itself from the trammels of sense and become absorbed into the divine Mind, and thus attain to supreme felicity. It is a doctrine which, in its more moderate form, does not repudiate reason, but insists that above knowledge and reason there is a clearer method of perception, an adequate intuition of absolute truth. Such was the belief of Ibn Sīnā and also of Al-Ghazāli, another great Persian (d. 1111). After studying all philosophies and sects, Al-Ghazāli came to the conclusion that all were false, and then spent eleven years in retreat until he attained a condition of ecstasy and peace. He was the most sceptical of Muslim philosophers, and directed the sharpest criticism against the principle of causation and the idea of natural law. He built his theology on a basis of philosophic doubt; and he employed the weapons of both scepticism and mysticism so effectively that Muslim philosophy was suspected in the East and migrated to Spain.

Ibn Badja (Avempace), who was born in Saragossa, and died in 1138, was the first important Peripatetic philosopher of Spain. In reaction against the scepticism and mysticism of Al-Ghazāli he defended the rights of reason, and inaugurated

in the West a movement which was represented by men greater than himself.

Ibn Roshd (Averroes), who was born at Cordova in 1120, closes the list of these Muslim philosophers. He devotes little attention to ethics. He busies himself with philosophical speculations and develops everything that his predecessors had taught in that subject. He almost worships Aristotle, and he blames Avicenna for departing from the position of the master. There are four points at which Averroes decisively influenced future philosophy. First, the world is eternal, produced by God by way of emanation, not by creation from nothing. Secondly, matter is eternal, it is a kind of receptacle in which all forms exist potentially without being as yet developed. It is the work of the first intelligence that issued from God to extract from matter the forms which it contains. This extraction is the immediate cause of the universe which we see. All that exists potentially must at some time become actual, and therefore is actual and necessary for him who stands in the midst of eternity. Thirdly, there is only one active Intellect for and in the human race, and we think by virtue of its action in us. Fourthly, this Intellect is immortal, but there is no personal immortality: Plato and Aristotle are dead, the speculative spirit that was in them survives. Averroes endeavoured to define the relation between philosophy and religion by teaching that all mankind is divided into three classes; the philosophers who require demonstration; the men of dialectic, such as theologians, who are content with probable arguments; and the men of exhortation, for whom appeals to the imagination and rhetorical arguments are enough. The Qur'ān is a miracle which contains something to convince all three classes, and Averroes maintains that it is most mischievous to give philosophic teaching to men who are not capable of receiving it.

Averroes was regarded with suspicion by his own people, and he may not unfairly be said to have represented those elements in Peripatetic philosophy which were most alien from Christianity. But he initiated the later Schoolmen into that enlarged knowledge of Aristotle which was destined to influence the whole future of theology, and he was certainly one of the greatest thinkers of his time.

The toleration and the prosperity enjoyed by the Jews of Spain enabled them to reach a degree of culture in no way inferior to that of their Muslim rulers. Among their most brilliant representatives was Salomon Ibn Gabirol (Avicebron), who was born in Malaga in 1020. His teaching tends in the direction of Pantheism. Its peculiar feature is to be found in the place assigned to the Will of God. It is interposed between God and the world. The universal Intelligence and the universal Soul issue from this Will, which is the cause of the being of all things, and through which God is immanent in the world. In addition to his celebrated treatise *Fons Vitae*, he wrote hymns which are greatly esteemed in the worship of the synagogue. His 'Crown of Royalty' eloquently extols the unity of God and wisdom, God's 'fostered child', but Ibn Gabirol is far nearer to Neo-Platonism than to the Pentateuch. Everything inferior to God is mixed with a certain amount of matter, which is potentiality as opposed to actuality, and it passes into lower and yet lower stages of existence down to the coarse matter of the human body. This theory, which was accepted by some early Franciscan philosophers, was opposed by St. Thomas Aquinas.

After Ibn Gabirol there were Jewish writers who elaborated philosophic proofs of the existence of God, and there were others who, neglecting philosophy as worthless, laid stress upon revelation and tradition.

This theological reaction reached its height in Moses ben Maimon (Maimonides), born at Cordova in 1135. His most celebrated work is the *Guide of the Perplexed*, addressed to scholars who are already acquainted with philosophy but do not know how to reconcile it with a literal interpretation of Scripture. He holds that a contradiction between philosophy and the Bible is impossible, and that recourse must be had to allegory whenever they appear to disagree. With regard to the eternity and the creation of the world, he maintains that as philosophy gives us no clear proof in favour of one or the other alternative, we can accept the biblical account of a creation in time. He proves the existence of God by the necessity for granting that there must be a first mover to account for movement, a necessary being, and a first cause. Thus the existence of God is established whether the world be created or eternal.

But Maimonides refuses to ascribe to God any attributes except negative attributes. He is intent upon eliminating anything that in the smallest degree might seem to imperil the unity of God, and the Jewish doctrine of God's unity is brought into line with Greek philosophy.

Maimonides shows the influence of Neo-Platonism in his doctrine of the intelligences. He believes that there are nine heavenly spheres, moved by nine immaterial intelligences, the first of which is a direct emanation from the primal Cause, the rest emanating one from another. The tenth and lowest sphere is that of the moon attached to the tenth intelligence. This intelligence is the active Intellect which causes the transition of man's intellect from a state of potentiality to that of actuality.

The life of Maimonides is full of real human interest. Compelled to leave Cordova after its capture by the fanatical Almohades, he pursued his literary work in Fez, then became the venerated leader of Judaism in Cairo, and lastly the body physician of Saladin. It is said that he became so much attached to Saladin that he declined the offer of a similar post at the English court, made to him by Richard I. In him Jewish medieval learning culminates. He influenced scholasticism, he contributed to the philosophy of the great Jewish philosopher of a future age, Spinoza, and his brief creed has remained a pillar of orthodox Judaism, a creed nearer to Christianity than to the 'liberal' Judaism which has discarded belief in a personal Messiah and in the resurrection of the body.

The Jews of Spain carried to Languedoc and Provence the writings of Averroes, as well as those of Maimonides, and before 1250 the leaven of Arabian philosophy was working in Christian minds.

Mysticism no less than philosophy received a powerful impulse from the Jewries of Spain.

The *Zohar* or Book of Splendour is a treatise which exercised, and in the East still exercises, a profound influence on Judaism, and affected the attitude of Christians towards Jews in the sixteenth century. Written in Hebrew and Aramaic, and containing an explanation of Spanish words, it purports to be the work of Rabbi Simeon ben Yochai, a famous teacher of the

second century. It probably owes its composition to two different authors. Of these one was Moses de Leon (d. 1305) and the other Abraham Abulafia, a Jewish ascetic who held that he was the Messiah and went to Rome to convert the Pope. Ostensibly the *Zohar* is a commentary on the Pentateuch. It teaches, however, that God, the Infinite, *En Sof*, is unknowable. Like the Gnostics, the authors of the *Zohar* were confronted with the question, How does the Infinite come into contact with the universe ? The *Zohar* gives essentially the same answer as the Gnostics. The Infinite makes a bridge between himself and the world by a series of *Sefiroth* or emanations. The first of these is an effulgence of His light, the Divine Will, named in mystic language the Crown. The tenth and last *Sefirah* is the material universe, the visible kingdom of God. These emanations or potencies form an absolute unity with *En Sof*, as the colours of the flame and the flame itself are latent in burning coal.

But the ten *Sefiroth* are not only the potencies through which creation is possible. They form in their totality *Adam Kadmon*, Original Man or Heavenly Man. He may be described as the immanent divine activity in the universe and he created earthly man as a copy of himself. All human souls already exist before they come to earth. A man's immortality depends upon his piety and purity. The spiritual consummation of the world cannot take place until the last new soul, that of the Messiah, enters upon an earthly life. Sin and hell will then disappear and Satan become a good angel, for there is nothing eternal that is not good.

The *Zohar* is one of the most important parts of the Jewish Kabbala or traditional theosophy, and there exist clear echoes of it in the Jewish Prayer Book. At the same time it contains distinct approximations to the Christian doctrines of the Trinity, the Second Adam, and the Atonement. The result was that several eminent Spanish Kabbalists embraced Christianity, and during the period of the Renaissance great scholars like Mirandola and Reuchlin championed the Kabbala as an auxiliary of the faith.

To the Franciscans and Dominicans belongs the credit of attempting to convert the Muslim world. The early Franciscans

had some success in Morocco, from whence the Christians in 1260 sent a subscription towards building the church at Assisi. The Dominican Raymond de Peñaforte devoted himself with great zeal to the conversion of the Muslims, and founded in Murcia and Tunis institutions where the brethren of his order could study Hebrew and Arabic. But the most original and systematic missionary effort, an effort of the boldest enthusiasm, was made by the Catalan, Raymond Lull.

Raymond Lull was born at Palma in the isle of Majorca about 1235. The island had only lately come under Christian rule, and Christians and Muslims lived side by side, not always in peace and concord. Lull was of noble birth, and at the age of thirty was seneschal of King Jaime of Majorca, son of Jaime I of Aragon. He was a married libertine and skilled in the arts of the troubadour, devoting his talents to the composition of sensuous poetry. He was converted by visions of Christ crucified, and was so convinced of the reality of these visions that he resolved to give his life to the conversion of the Muslims, and prayed that he might win the crown of martyrdom. He learnt Arabic from a Saracen slave, who discovered the object of his master's studies and sought to take his life. He became as familiar with Latin and Arabic as with his own melodious Catalan, and for ten years taught in a monastery which he persuaded the king to build at Miramar. In spite of constant rebuffs, he urged his cause in Naples, Genoa, Rome, and Paris, where he contended against the doctrines of Averroes. The untiring efforts that he made to induce Christians to study Oriental languages were not in vain. Before he died the Council of Vienne directed that chairs of Hebrew and Arabic should be founded at Rome, Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca.

He wrote many books and discovered, he believed by inspiration, a method of proving the truths of religion which he called *Ars Magna*. By it he represented fundamental ideas and their relations to the objects of thought by letters and figures, giving all possible questions and tabulating all possible predications. Strange as this method may seem to us, it impressed many of his Muslim contemporaries, and he made numerous converts in Majorca, Spain, and North Africa. He had a firm belief in the value and sanctity of the human intellect, and was

convinced that a Christian ought to be able to give a reason for his faith. With regard to Islam Lull showed remarkable foresight. The Tatars were sweeping across Asia, burning and killing within the borders of Eastern Christianity, and he saw what a mighty force Islam would become if it absorbed these Mongol Tatars. He implored the scholars of Paris to head a movement which would win the Mongols for Christ. His contemporary John of Monte Corvino met with extraordinary success in Pekin, and other Franciscans did much for the conversion of the Eastern world. But the disaster which Lull feared came at the end of the fourteenth century, when Tamerlane founded a new empire under the banner of the Crescent.

Lull had his heart's desire, for after converting many Muslims at Bugia in Africa he was stoned and died on June the 29th, 1315. He was one of the heroes of his age, and among his memorable words are those which record his conviction that the conquest of the Holy Land should be attempted in no other way than that of Christ and His apostles, 'by love, by prayer, by tears, and the offering up of our own lives'.

The early years of the fifteenth century were marked by the impassioned missionary preaching of St. Vincent Ferrer, who went to Toledo in 1411 and made thousands of Hebrew converts in Castile and Aragon. His work was followed by more repressive legislation against Jews and Moors and by a remarkable public disputation held near Tortosa in 1414. The Christian protagonist was Gerónimo de Santafé, a learned convert who confronted the leading Jewish rabbis in discussions which lasted several months and ended in a partial victory for the Christians. It is certain that the number of professing Jews greatly diminished, although both in Castile and Aragon they enjoyed occasional years of respite from persecution. In the meantime the Hebrew Christians were moving towards their inevitable doom, a doom which threatened both them and their unbelieving kindred. The gentile nobles were angry and jealous when they found that the Maranos formed a close corporation of their own and secured for themselves some of the highest offices in Church and State. And the less sincere converts, thinking that they were safe, often threw discretion to the winds by telling their servants

to eat meat in Lent, or by reviving the practice of circumcision and visiting the synagogues. Some avoided holy communion as much as possible, and they told such lies in the confessional that a sarcastic priest, after hearing a Marano's confession, said, 'Since you have never sinned, I want a piece of your clothes as a relic to cure the sick'.

At Cordova there was a serious outbreak and massacre of the Jews in 1473, and seven years later Ferdinand and Isabella, 'the Catholic sovereigns', took the decisive step of establishing the Spanish Inquisition. The old papal Inquisition of the thirteenth century never obtained a firm foothold in Spain, the Church of Castile was too proud of her ancient independence to accept it with good will. But now the necessary bull was obtained from Pope Sixtus IV, and an Inquisition was created which was under royal control as much as possible. The first *auto de fe* was celebrated at Seville, February the 6th, 1481, and the work went on vigorously under the ruthless Torquemada, the confessor of the king and queen. It is a strange fact that the king's grandmother was a Jewess, Torquemada belonged to a Jewish family, so did Hernando de Talavera, Archbishop of Granada.[1] In 1492 the final blow descended: the Jews were given the choice between baptism and expulsion. Some 50,000 were baptized; but a far larger number were driven from the country with every circumstance of cruelty. Many went to Italy, and many made their way to the dominions of the Sultan of Turkey, where their descendants still retain the Castilian dialect of their ancestors. Others went to Portugal and in time their descendants reached Holland, England, and the West Indies. In Spain little care was taken to instruct the numerous converts in their new faith, and for a time relapses were not infrequent. Unceasingly spied upon by their neighbours and their servants, the people of Jewish descent were prosecuted even for such crimes as refusing to eat pork or wearing clean linen on a Saturday. The result of these prosecutions roughly verified the saying that it requires three generations to change the religion of a people. In 1595 it was said that they had almost all become good Christians.

[1] Possibly also the learned and austere Cardinal Ximenes himself. A Jewish family of his name settled in England and became Christian in the time of George III.

A somewhat different state of things prevailed in Portugal. When the Spanish 'conversos' flocked to Portugal, King Manoel, in 1497, issued a law for the protection of these 'New Christians'. They grew rich and intermarried with the noblest families; many became priests. The Jews were persecuted, but the Jewish Christians were left in peace until the introduction of the Inquisition into Portugal in 1531, and its full establishment, in 1540 and 1548, exposed them to the same interference as their brethren in Spain. Christians of Hebrew origin are still very numerous in the northern provinces of Portugal. But the non-Christian Jews were relentlessly persecuted until the eighteenth century, when it was believed that Judaism was extinct throughout the Peninsula. This opinion has been recently disproved. Early in the present century it was discovered that a number of the inhabitants of the small towns in the mining region of the Sierra da Estrella in Portugal are Crypto-Jews. They knew no Hebrew and they had abandoned circumcision, but they observed the Sabbath, the Passover, and the Day of Atonement, and were conscious that they were children of Abraham, regarding their enfeebled religion as the only orthodox Judaism. Mostly of humble rank, they are nevertheless kinsmen of the rich Jews who founded the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue in London, where the father of Lord Beaconsfield was once a worshipper.

Against the conscientious bigotry and the cruel hypocrisy of the age of Ferdinand and Isabella stands the noble figure of Hernando de Talavera. He learnt Arabic, required others of the clergy to follow his example, and provided the Moors of Granada with translations of parts of the Gospels and services in their own language. He set an example of the highest Christian charity, self-denial, and energy, and began to win converts by solely Christian methods. Cardinal Ximenes, on the contrary, was in favour of hastening the process of conversion, and the result was that the Moors, like the Jews, had to submit to either expulsion or baptism. Such obstacles were placed in the way of their departure that they were practically forced to become Christians. Talavera himself, venerated by all good men, nearly fell a victim to the calumnies and intrigues of the fiendish inquisitor Lucero, who inaugurated a reign of

terror for his own personal aggrandizement. The archbishop whom he harried, 'having nothing, yet possessing all things,' died after taking part in a procession bareheaded and barefooted through the streets of Granada on Ascension Day 1507.

The Moors, Crypto-Muslim and Christian alike, were finally expelled from Spain in 1609. They appear to have numbered about 600,000 souls. One fact might have touched the hearts of their persecutors, had they only known it, and suggested more discrimination and more charity. Some of these 'Moriscos' who were driven from Spain to Africa made their way to Tetuan. They were Christians, and, having firmly refused to worship in the mosque, they were stoned to death by the Muslims, and thus, though Spain knew them not, they deserved to be numbered among the saints.

XIII

SOME SCHOOLMEN [1]

THE philosophic and theological systems of the Middle Ages have received the name of Scholasticism from the cathedral and monastic schools in which they originated. With the exception of John Scotus Eriugena, the first writers and teachers of the Carolingian age were of a practical turn of mind. But in the eleventh century practical interests gave way to a pure love of science, and scholars strove to give a perfectly logical form to the doctrines of the Church. Soon after 1100 we already find a sharp distinction between two different schools of thought, the Nominalists and the Realists, though some germs of their different theories can be found in the ninth century. The Nominalists maintained that 'general notions' or 'universals' are mere abstractions of the understanding, to which we give names in order to describe the qualities of particular things. The Realists held that these 'universals' have a substantial reality, they are objective ideal existences before and apart from human thinking, and are more real than individual things. The universals were believed to inhere in the individuals and to constitute their 'form' or essence. Thus, according to the Realists, humanity is real; according to the Nominalists men are real, each man is real, but humanity is not real. The difference was one of serious importance, for Realism was linked with a spiritual view of the universe, and Nominalism with an unspiritual view, and might fairly be described as sceptical and rationalistic in tendency, if not in intention.

Roscellinus (d. *c.* 1125) represented this rationalistic school of thought and his tritheistic doctrine concerning the Trinity was opposed by St. Anselm, whose guiding principle in the philosophy of religion was 'Believe in order that you may understand'. Condemned at Reims, Roscellinus was received at Rome and then returned to teach in France. Nearly contemporary with him we find several notable Schoolmen. Among the most

[1] For much in this chapter I am indebted to M. Étienne Gilson, *La Philosophie au Moyen Âge* (Payot, Paris, 1922).

important of them were John of Salisbury and Peter Abelard, a pupil of Roscellinus.

John of Salisbury, an Englishman who became Bishop of Chartres, may be called a forerunner of the Renaissance of the next century. He is an Academician and reproduces the style and thought of Cicero. He is a Christian humanist, believing that the love of God is the true philosophy. But he hesitates to make affirmations where he sees no absolute certainty: he is cautious and knows that we must often be content with probabilities.

The celebrated Abelard (1079–1142) was a thinker of a different type. He was a born fighter. The basis of his doctrine was Nominalist, and he had assimilated the Aristotelian theory of knowledge more completely than any of his contemporaries. He compelled his Parisian teacher, William of Champeaux, to change his views, and he then proceeded to attack another distinguished teacher, Anselm of Laon. He left Laon for Paris, where his lectures on theology and philosophy enjoyed an extraordinary vogue. At this time he seduced and was secretly married to the beautiful and talented Héloïse. For his sake she unselfishly denied the marriage, while he was cruelly mutilated in a way which disqualified him for ecclesiastical preferment. He fled to the monastery of St.-Denis, but had to leave it when he maliciously announced the historical fact that St. Denis of Paris was not Dionysius the Areopagite. He next lived for a short time at an oratory named the Paraclete, leaving it to become abbot of a monastery in Brittany; he again lectured in Paris, and was excommunicated by Pope Innocent II. He found a refuge with the Abbot, Peter the Venerable, of Cluny, who not only effected a reconciliation of Abelard with Bernard, but obtained permission from the Pope for him to pass his last days in peace at Cluny. He died in 1142 near Chalon-sur-Saône whither he had gone in quest of health. His remains were carried off in secrecy to the Paraclete, where Héloïse was laid to rest in 1164. Their bones still lie united in the cemetery of Père-la-Chaise.

Abelard's influence, both during his life and in later days, has been the result rather of his force of character than of any originality of ideas. The notion that he was an apostle of free thought who deliberately intended to wreck the principle of

authority must be seriously questioned. It cannot be denied that in opposing the tritheism of Roscellinus he taught a Sabellian doctrine of the Trinity, and his doctrine of the Atonement fails to do justice to the propitiatory character of Christ's death. But he wished to understand in order that he might believe. And his famous *Sic et Non*, in which he put together the conflicting opinions of the Fathers, was written to promote the solution of religious problems, and not the dissolution of faith. He says, 'I do not want to be a philosopher by contradicting St. Paul, nor to be an Aristotle so as to separate from Christ'. The extent of his learning was not vast, but what he studied he studied deeply; his mind was penetrating and his dialectic was formidable.

St. Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153) was Abelard's most persistent antagonist. He was genuinely disturbed by the effects of Abelard's teaching. The discussions which had begun in the schools were now taken up in the universities, where famous teachers were able to gather together large and enthusiastic bands of followers. And his letters are full of lament over the loss of faith arising from attempts to apply the canons of our limited reason to truths which in a great measure belong to a sphere beyond our grasp. Abelard, he maintains, is suspicious of God's word, and his disciples debate in the streets about the Virgin birth of Christ and the Sacrament of the altar. The arguments on such questions were not very different then from what they are now; and the uniformity of nature was invoked with equal assurance by the sceptics, though impressed upon the student's imagination with less wealth of detail than in modern times.

Bernard was a man of fervent faith and the most eminent mystical writer of this period. He inaugurated a spiritual movement which can be traced through the Middle Ages to the Reformation and beyond it. Without excluding philosophy from religion, he expresses his own conviction when he says, 'My philosophy is to know Jesus and Jesus crucified'. The way to truth is Christ, and the principal thing in the teaching of Christ is humility. It is the virtue by which a man knows what he is himself and feels compassion for his neighbour, and so

rises through sorrow for his sins to the contemplation of God. The Bible was his favourite reading, and his theology was a theology of the heart.

Hugo of St.-Victor (d. 1141) and his pupil Richard of St.-Victor (d. 1173) tried from the side of mysticism to bridge the gulf between those who subordinated faith to reason and those who believed that faith is the surest path to truth. The former writer was very highly esteemed as a ripe scholar and deep thinker, and is placed by Dante among the great teachers of the Church. Side by side with a mystical reaction from the philosophy and somewhat perverted logic of the time, we find the production of learned summaries of the content of the Christian faith. Such books were written by Hugo of St.-Victor himself, Robert Pullen of Oxford, who was admired by Bernard, and Peter Lombard, whose work remained for centuries a popular text-book of the schools and won for its author the title of *Magister Sententiarum*. But the speculative impulse was nearly exhausted by the middle of the twelfth century, and the mystics were devoting themselves to preaching and edification. A momentous change was at hand. After an interval of about half a century there came a new development of Scholasticism. It was the result of a knowledge of the complete works of Aristotle, transmitted by the Muslims and the Jews of Spain.

Alexander of Hales (d. 1245), an English archdeacon who studied and lectured in Paris and entered the order of St. Francis, was the first Schoolman who knew all the Aristotelian writings and applied the forms of Peripatetic philosophy to the elaboration of the doctrinal system of the Church. His ponderous *Summa Theologiae*, which Roger Bacon declared to be equal in weight to one horse, was recommended highly by Pope Alexander IV and a Roman Conclave, and it caused the Franciscans to give him the name of *Doctor Irrefragabilis*. It is not a book of great intrinsic value, but it is of real historical importance as marking a new stage in human knowledge. And Alexander of Hales had the honour of teaching St. Bonaventura, whom he described as 'an Israelite indeed, in whom Adam appears not to have sinned'.

It was, however, the Dominican order, and not the Franciscan,

which succeeded in effecting the great revolution of which Alexander of Hales was the forerunner. The men who did this work were Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas Aquinas. They presented to the world a synthesis which combined all that revelation called men to believe and all that the reason allowed them to comprehend. Before this synthesis was made, the philosophers were dialecticians who had derived from Aristotle instruments for argument, but had little matter concerning which to argue. The theologians employed the same methods of discussion, although their theology remained in its essence the Christian Platonism of St. Augustine. But when the Physics, Metaphysics, and Ethics of Aristotle were assimilated, there came a change. A clearer distinction became drawn between philosophy and theology, between what can be demonstrated and what cannot, and a new importance became attached to the experience of the senses. It became necessary to observe nature as it is.

It is in this realm of nature that Albertus Magnus (d. 1280) recognized the authority of Aristotle, and in his appeal to Aristotle and the Greeks he liberated human reason by simultaneously restricting and enlarging its domain. It was his deliberate purpose 'to make intelligible to the Latins' the treasures of knowledge accumulated by the Greeks and by their Arab and Jewish disciples. It has been well said that in his works they can be discovered like unpolished precious stones, stones which were to gain from the Latin genius of St. Thomas a brilliance and a setting which were not given to them by the German intellect of Albertus. His knowledge of physical science is considerable. And in spite of inconsistencies, his immense industry and his protracted study of Aristotle gave him a real power in digesting and expounding the philosophy of the great master and remodelling it for Christian use. He studied at Padua and Bologna, and lectured with great success at Cologne, Strasbourg, and Paris. In 1254 he became Provincial of the Dominicans and in 1260 the Pope made him Bishop of Regensburg. He was an efficient provincial and an active preacher. Among his voluminous writings is a commentary on St. John and a criticism of the Muslim Averroes. His principal theological works are a commentary on the Book of the Sentences of Peter

Lombard, and his own *Summa Theologiae*, which shows the influence of both Peter Lombard and Alexander of Hales.

St. Thomas Aquinas (1227–1274) entered into the labours of his teacher Albertus, and may be regarded as the incarnation of medieval Christian philosophy. Born of a noble family at Rocca Secca, he was taught as a child in the monastery of Monte Cassino, and as a lad at the university of Naples. There, against the wishes of his family, he assumed the habit of St. Dominic in his seventeenth year. He then studied under Albertus at Cologne and at Paris, and became under Albertus second lecturer at Cologne. He then returned to Paris in 1252 to win his doctor's degree, and lived in intimate friendship with St. Bonaventura. He threw himself into the controversy raging between the Dominicans and the University of Paris with regard to the liberty of teaching; and it was not until 1257, when the opposition of the university to the mendicant orders had been overcome, that the two friends obtained the degree of doctor. Urban IV recalled him to Italy in 1261, and he taught successively in Rome, Bologna, Pisa, and Naples. He died on March the 7th, 1274, on his way to the second general Council of Lyons.

His works cover an enormous ground and illustrate the gradual travail of his mind. The Commentary on the Sentences manifests his thought in process of formation, influenced by Augustinian views which he afterwards abandoned. The Commentaries on Aristotle and Pseudo-Dionysius show two great sources on which he drew for his philosophy and his theology. The *Summa Theologiae* shows us his own philosophy in a form adapted to beginners. And the *Summa contra Gentiles* contains the same doctrine, but with an exhaustive discussion of the problems briefly solved in the *Summa Theologiae*.

To the contemporaries of St. Thomas the influx of new knowledge seemed to certify the truth of doctrines incompatible with the faith of the Church, and it was therefore necessary to distinguish reason and faith more carefully and to render to each its real due. St. Thomas knew what a proof is when it is solely rational, and, because he knew, he denied the possibility of demonstrating the doctrine of the Trinity or the creation of the world in time as opposed to its creation in eternity. The

universe is distinct from God and has a perfect and intelligent cause, but reason does not, like revelation, tell us that it had a beginning in time. The demonstration of the existence of God is necessary and possible; and in the things of sense, that is, things whose nature is proportionate to our own, we can find a point from which our minds can rise upward to God. He is the summit of a series of causes of which the base is the reality of things preceived by the senses. The forms of things created, the ideas of things, exist in the thought of God, they are the knowledge which He has of a possible participation in His perfection on the part of things created. Our knowledge is not capable of reaching directly to the supreme good; but by a constant effort of the intellect and by choosing the things that are in necessary connexion with that good, we can reach a real beatitude here, and divine that which we may reach hereafter. Now, this reduction of our knowledge of God to a knowledge which begins with the senses appeared to be directly opposed to the mystical belief that man can have direct evidence and clear intuitions of God's existence and God's presence. It might seem a dry theory to men who were conscious of an abiding 'unction from the Holy One'. But it was the teaching of a man who was not only a great thinker but also a fervent saint and poet. If St. Thomas had not that passion for conformity with the Crucified that we find in St. Francis, he devoted his life to the contemplation of God, and his Eucharistic hymns are among the most precious jewels of medieval devotion.

It is to be regretted that he was ignorant of Greek, and he defended the authority of the Pope against the Greeks by quotations from the usual forgeries then current in Western Christendom.

Roger Bacon (1214–1294) was not only one of the most distinguished members of the Franciscan order, but also a great man in an age of great men. Popular English tradition came to regard him as a combination of the magician and the mechanician. And it is true that, like a child of his age, he believed in astrology and the philosopher's stone: and it is also true that he describes the method of constructing a telescope. But he was first of all a wise and learned man who perceived the folly of deserting the Scriptures for the works of Peter Lombard and of

cultivating physical science by arguments which ignored research. His Oxford teachers gave him a bent in the direction of positive science and the knowledge of languages; he took the degree of Doctor of Theology at Paris, and returned to England about 1250. He then spent most of his time in Oxford, but his lectures roused the suspicion of his Franciscan superiors, and about 1257 he was sent back to Paris, where he was kept under strict supervision and endured great hardships. Help came to him from an unexpected quarter. In 1265 Guy de Foulques, who had acted as papal legate in England, became Pope with the name of Clement IV. He wrote to Bacon ordering him, notwithstanding any injunctions of his superiors, to send him a treatise on the sciences concerning which he had inquired when legate.

In spite of the want of money and other materials, Bacon in two years' time sent to the Pope two works, the *Opus Majus* and the *Opus Minus*, and began an *Opus Tertium*. These large works were regarded by him as introductions leading to a greater work embracing the principles of all the sciences. But these with his other writings reveal to us a keen thinker exposing the sources of error, outlining the relation between philosophy and theology, insisting on the necessity of acquiring foreign languages, and the importance of mathematics and of experimental knowledge. For a time Bacon enjoyed a breathing space in Oxford, but in 1278 his books were condemned by Jerome of Ascoli, the general of the Franciscan order, and he was again imprisoned. He was free once more in 1292 and probably died in Oxford in 1294.

Duns Scotus, probably a native of Scotland, became a member of the Franciscan order about 1290, studied in Oxford and Paris, and died in Cologne in 1308. He was one of the most original thinkers that Oxford has produced. An Aristotelian who had learned much from St. Thomas, he was also deeply influenced by the Augustinianism of the Franciscans and the scientific methods which had been taught by Robert Grosseteste and Roger Bacon. With him philosophy and theology have fewer points of contact than with St. Thomas, and he makes a sharper distinction between reason and revelation. He lays the utmost stress upon the primacy of the will in both God and man, though he regards Infinity as the most essential attribute of God. To him the fact that will controls the acts of the intelli-

gence, and is the first cause of the act, is proof of the supremacy of the will. Even when the choice of an act seems to be the irresistible result of the knowledge that we have of an object, the will is wholly responsible for the choice that is made. He repeatedly criticizes St. Thomas. And though his work is less magnificently harmonious than that of the great Dominican, he surpasses him in force and originality. The manner in which he balances together the doctrine of God's transcendence and the doctrine of His creative will, and his elucidation of certain aspects of Christ's Person, helped to safeguard some essentially Christian ideas against a mischievous logic. He was fitly named *Doctor Subtilis*.

Henceforth the Dominicans and the Franciscans were opposed as respectively the followers of Thomas and the followers of Scotus. The Franciscans tended to be critical and progressive, whereas the Dominicans, after the revolution effected by Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas, became conservative and the friends of tradition.

The differences between the Thomists and the Scotists extended to almost every branch of theology and intimately touched the questions of grace and sin, predestination and free will. St. Thomas, in dealing with these great questions, remained in line with the teaching of St. Augustine. The Scotists were nearer to Pelagianism. St. Thomas, like St. Augustine, St. Bernard, and many others, held that although the Blessed Virgin committed no sin, she was not conceived immaculate. Duns Scotus held that she was even in her conception free from the taint of original sin, and this theory became a darling doctrine of the Franciscans. It was erected into a dogma in 1854 by Pope Pius IX after considerable discussion and a good many misgivings. In the sixteenth century the Council of Trent strove to keep the balance between Thomists and Scotists, but inclined on the whole towards the former. The influence of the two schools can be clearly traced in the intellectual movements of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, and the late medieval revival of Nominalism left its mark on Socinianism, the left wing of the theological revolt against Rome.

In spite of the differences by which they were divided, the

Thomists and the Scotists were alike Realists, and for a time checked the advance of Nominalism. But the last stage of medieval philosophy was marked by a revival of Nominalism in a militant form. This revival was mainly the work of the English Franciscan William of Occam (d. *c.* 1349). It became widely influential, and the last of the medieval Schoolmen, Gabriel Biel (d. 1495), a professor of Tübingen, was a Nominalist. The Realists of this later period called themselves *Antiqui*, while the Nominalists, who prided themselves on being *Moderni*, showed remarkable points of contact with some modern modes of religious thought.

Occam's method 'proceeded on the supposition that logic deals not with things nor with thoughts, but with terms arbitrarily imposed by ourselves'. Words are signs of thoughts which are signs of something else, but the relations between words and thoughts, thoughts and things, are all imperfect; and when we use certain terms we neither assert nor prove anything as to the relations aforesaid. Occam believed the Realists to be quite wrong in thinking that there is a real universal or common element in all the individuals of one class, for the individual thing is the only reality, whether it be in the outward world or in the world of mind. He distrusted abstractions and laid stress upon the objects of immediate perception. Further, Occam made a complete severance between philosophy and theology. He denied that any doctrines are rationally demonstrable. Reason can only bring forward probabilities in their favour. Thus the unity and the infinity of God are more probable than a plurality of gods, but they cannot be demonstrated. Nevertheless he accepted theological truths because they are revealed: they are certain from the point of view of faith, and reason does not contradict them. Like Scotus, he held that morality is founded on the arbitrary will of God.

In all this theory of a twofold truth we can see a reaction against the great work of Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas, which was the reconciliation of reason and faith as 'two bells of one accord'. Occam, and others like him, were believers. But their belief was built upon the very scepticism from which it was intended to be a refuge. The result was that this theory of a twofold truth was accepted by philosophers who had no love for

any religion, and on the other hand by mystics who cared little for any systematic theology. We must now consider the splendid effort to reconstruct the relation between faith and reason that was made by a great ecclesiastic, Nicholas of Cusa.

One of the most attractive and interesting figures of the fifteenth century is Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa (1401–1464). He was a man endowed with rare sagacity and a passionate love of truth. He detected as frauds the Donation of Constantine (see p. 64) and the forged Decretals, and he anticipated Copernicus by maintaining the theory of the rotation of the earth. He was conspicuous at the Council of Basel, where he proposed a scheme for concord based on a recognition of the rights of both Pope and Council. He afterwards joined the papal party; but his honesty is beyond question, and as papal legate he carried out numerous reforms in Germany. He was a many-sided philosopher, and his writings prove him to be one of the finest representatives of later medieval thought. The word *Unity* may be called the motto of his aspirations. He was deeply dissatisfied with the scholastic Nominalism which separated faith and knowledge, for he believed that faith must be sustained by knowledge both new and old. And he desired to heal the divisions of Christendom by a reconciliation between the Greek and the Latin Church, hoping that Western thought might be renovated by contact with Greek culture.

His theology is influenced by Pythagorean and Platonic metaphysics. From these metaphysics he borrowed formulas to express his speculations on Christian doctrine. He gave to his principal treatise the title of *Docta Ignorantia*, holding that, like Socrates, we must start from the knowledge that we know nothing. The man who begins with this knowledge may find in the truths which his intellect first regards as contradictory a path towards the highest and most perfect unity. The One for which he seeks must be that in which all things find their meeting point, accident and substance, body and spirit, movement and repose. It must include the greatest and the least, the highest and the lowest. It harmonizes all. Yet are we right when we say *It*? Should we not rather speak of *Him*? Nicholas of Cusa seeks a positive constructive theology in which God will appear

as uniting in himself that which is scattered in all creatures, and he seeks a negative transcendent theology which distinguishes God from His creatures. He has been accused of Pantheism, but it is very doubtful whether this charge can be substantiated, in spite of phrases that suggest it. A mystical element appears in his doctrine that among those who profess religion the highest class find their delight not in sensuous things like the lowest class, nor in the understanding like the intermediate class, but in a manner which transcends everything that sense and understanding can grasp.

The highest stage can be reached by the true believer in Christ. In his third book Nicholas shows how the absolute Being of God is presented to man in the Person of our Lord. In Him God and the world find their reciprocal mediation. In the universe, which is a limited image of God, there are not infinitely many degrees of concrete being; and the universe therefore does not exhaust the absolutely greatest power of God. If we were to think of the greatest as existing concretely in a determinate species, it would in reality be all that lies within the whole possibility of that species: it would be its highest possible perfection. It would be both creature and God, the perfection of a determinate species and the absolute maximum. Now Man has the most relationship with the totality of being, and therefore is the best fitted of all things for union with God. For this union it was necessary that the likeness in God, that is the Son, should unite with Man. Through this Son, and for Him, all things exist, and nothing can attain to higher perfection without this union of the human and the divine. It has appeared in the Person of Christ. In His Person and in His death He has made up and completed what is defective in all men. His perfect humanity remained throughout hypostatically united with His Deity. He rose again with a glorified immortal body that human nature might also rise to eternal life, and the mortal body become spiritual and indestructible. So He is both the centre and the completion of all creation.

A deep and devout religion is allied with these more metaphysical doctrines. The activity of faith consists in the inward union of the believer with Christ. The possibility of this union lies in the fact that in Christ is the most perfect humanity, and

all men are in Him. Faith, which is developed by knowledge, is vitalized by love. As everything that lives loves life and every thinker loves thought, so we cannot have faith in Jesus as immortal life and perfect truth without loving Him. The Church is the mystical body of Christ, and through the Word and the sacraments is the medium of union with Him; and as diverse finite things, notwithstanding their plurality, are comprehended in the concrete unity of the universe, so Christians have their concrete unity in the Church.

Nicholas believed that man had been created for unity and redeemed for unity. He held that the eternal Word had taught all nations to feel after Him and one nation to be His special messenger, that his own inquiries and the inquiries of the philosophers were directed towards the same goal, and that one Book gives to all the assurance that those who seek will find.

With Nicholas of Cusa the age of medieval scholasticism and of medieval reform ends, and ends with dignity.

XIV

BONIFACE VIII AND THE BABYLONISH CAPTIVITY

'WE declare, we say, we define and pronounce that to every human creature it is absolutely necessary to salvation to be subject to the Roman pontiff.' So wrote Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303). He was born of a noble family of Anagni, studied canon law, visited France, and on coming to England was besieged in the Tower of London by the rebellious earl of Gloucester and rescued by the future King Edward I. He gained great influence as a cardinal, forced the weak and ascetic Pope Celestine V to abdicate, and was himself crowned Pope with much pomp in January 1295. He had a passionate desire to restore the papacy to the proud position which it had held in the days of Innocent III, to unite the European states under his own authority, and to rescue the Holy Land. He pursued these ends with indefatigable energy and stated his opinions with the harsh dialectic of a professional canonist. The result was to involve the papacy in serious disputes with other powers and to pave the way for future disasters.

It was a matter of money which, not for the last time, kindled the quarrel between Rome and the states beyond the Alps. In 1296, by the bull *Clericis laicos*, he forbade the levying of taxes on the clergy, taxes which had been disguised under such names as 'gifts', 'aids', and 'subsidies'. This immediately produced a conflict with Philip the Fair of France, which continued in spite of the fact that in two subsequent letters Boniface softened his claim and offered an olive branch to France by canonizing Louis IX. He met with more success in dealing with the German king, Adolph of Nassau, whose position was too unstable to justify resistance. And he refused to recognize Albert I of Austria until Albert admitted the right of the Pope alone to bestow the imperial crown. But these triumphs were more than balanced by failures in England and France. Boniface in 1300 sent a papal envoy to Edward I, the conqueror of Scotland, with a bull denying his right to the lordship of Scotland and declaring that it belonged to the holy see. Edward, who was a man of

deep religious feeling, laid the Pope's bull before the barons and requested them to send their own reply. This reply declared that the kings of England ought not to answer to any judge concerning their rights. And Edward himself rejected an article promoted by Winchelsey, Archbishop of Canterbury, to the effect that the clergy should not be taxed without the consent of the Pope.

In the meantime Boniface had the consolation of witnessing the Jubilee which he had proclaimed for the year 1300. It is thus briefly described by a recent Jesuit historian: 'On the publication of the bull granting the remission of all their sins to the pilgrims who should betake themselves to Rome, an enormous crowd of the faithful of all countries flowed thither. It is estimated that every day of the Jubilee the number of strangers present in the Eternal City amounted to 200,000. A contemporary affirms, perhaps with some exaggeration, that he had seen in the basilica of St. Paul two clerks occupied day and night in collecting with shovels the money which rained down at the foot of the altar of the apostle.'[1] Encouraged by the spiritual and financial support derived from the Jubilee, Boniface entered upon a second conflict with Philip the Fair. He promoted to the see of Pamiers, a see erected without consulting the king, Bernard Saisset, a Languedocian who had no love for the French monarch; and he added to his indiscretion by sending Saisset as his legate to Paris. The legate's behaviour was such that he was soon placed under arrest. Boniface gave vent to his indignation, and on December the 5th, 1301, issued his celebrated bull *Ausculta fili* in which he claims that God has put him over kings and their kingdoms, and convokes the bishops of France to a council at Rome. He compares Philip his 'son' to the deaf adder which stoppeth her ears. The partisans of Philip replied by circulating a forged bull which exaggerated the claims made in the authentic document, and the king convoked the three orders of the realm to meet at Paris. The 'Estates General' therefore met for the first time in the cathedral church of Notre-Dame on April the 10th, 1302, and assured Philip of their unanimous support.

[1] E. De Moreau, S. J., *Histoire de l'Église*, p. 172 (Éditions Casterman, Tournai, 1925).

Boniface held the council at Rome, and on November the 18th published the bull *Unam Sanctam*, which has been quoted in the opening words of this chapter. The bull is the most absolute assertion of the power of the Pope which was ever formulated in the Middle Ages. Near the time of the publication of this bull, William de Nogaret became chancellor of France and precipitated events by his audacious proposal to seize the Pope in Italy, and then bring him to France to be condemned by a national council. Philip secured the help of the Colonna family, a great family at feud with the family of the Pope, and Sciarra Colonna and a large band of soldiers made their way to Anagni, where the Pope was then residing. They appeared in the city at dawn, and, after a day spent in pillage, invaded the palace, and found the Pope lying on his bed and clasping a cross. After three days of confinement and humiliation he was rescued by a crowd of his friends from Anagni and its neighbourhood. He was taken to Rome, where he was kept in the Vatican by the Orsini until his death, a month after his capture. Arrogant and avaricious, he was at least energetic and courageous, and might have accomplished much for the Church if he had not been, in the words of Villani, 'a man more worldly than became his station'. A fresco of Giotto represents him publishing the indulgence of 1300, and Dante, in his *Divine Comedy*, places Boniface VIII in hell with the title of 'Prince of the New Pharisees', who fought not with Saracens and Jews but with Christian people.

Benedict XI (1303–1304), the successor of Boniface VIII, reigned only for a few months. He released Philip from the excommunication which he had incurred, softened the decisions laid down in the bull *Clericis laicos*, and exhorted the Christian world to undertake a crusade. The Colonna and Orsini families by their continual feuds made Rome insecure for any Pope, and in fact fifteen pontiffs had already lived almost entirely away from their capital. The papacy therefore sought another home, far removed from the ancient seat of spiritual sovereignty, and found this home at the very gates of France.

On the river Rhone, in what is now the south-east of France, wind-swept and somewhat unhealthy, lies the city of Avignon.

It is remarkable for its massive medieval ramparts, a huge sombre palace, and an exquisite Gothic mausoleum in a Romanesque cathedral church. That mausoleum is the tomb of Pope John XXII, and the ramparts and the palace were built by popes in the fourteenth century. For Avignon was chosen in 1308 by Clement V as his papal residence, and it remained the papal seat until 1377, when Pope Gregory XI migrated to Rome. Then two antipopes, Clement VII and Benedict XIII, resided there till the latter was expelled in 1408. But the town remained in the possession of the popes till the French Revolution.

Pope Clement V (Pope from 1305 to 1314), a Gascon with a Gascon's love of ostentation, was by birth a subject of the King of England, and by force of circumstances an instrument of the King of France. He was well educated and he was affable. But he was too weak in health and character to resist the implacable ambition of Philip the Fair, who was determined to strengthen the French monarchy and to put the papacy under his yoke. The Pope was to be employed to destroy the powerful order of the Templars, whose wealth Philip coveted and whose influence he feared. And among the first acts of the new Pope was the creation of nine French cardinals, a token to the world that the papacy, so fiercely independent under the late Pope Boniface VIII, had entered into the bondage which men called the 'Babylonish Captivity'.

The Templars, an order which was considered to be the bulwark of Christianity against the unbelievers, were at the zenith of their power. This power did not only rest upon the reverence felt for the Cross whose cause they championed, or upon the fear inspired by their swords. The Templars had become the bankers and financiers of Europe. In their strongholds gold and silver were kept safely, and it was they who made trade with the East possible and profitable. From Ireland to Armenia they were a force to be reckoned with, and nowhere more than in France. Philip the Fair, a persecutor of Jewish and Lombard money-lenders, coveted the money of the Templars, and he also hoped to make the different military orders amalgamate and acknowledge one master, and that master a Frenchman. He craftily took advantage of the vulgar

gossip which put the worst interpretation upon the pride and isolation of the Templars. For human nature is apt to suspect what it does not understand, and it was reported that within the fortresses of the Templars appalling profanities and the vilest vices were commonly practised. By the king's command all the Templars in France were arrested on October the 13th, 1307.

The Pope was at first indignant and claimed that the matter should be dealt with by his own tribunal. Philip pretended to submit, but the inquisitors, under the direction of his confessor, continued to examine the arrested Templars. Many of them under torture confessed abominable crimes, and the Grand Master, Jacques de Molay, admitted that he had denied Christ and had spat upon the Cross. Clement V countenanced the torture of the accused, but reserved his final judgement for a Council held at Vienne in 1311.

The Council of Vienne, summoned by the bull *Alma Mater* and attended by numerous bishops from all parts of western Europe, including Scotland and Ireland, opened on October the 16th, 1311. The position of Clement V was critical and his conduct was criminal. Philip the Fair was near at hand at Lyons, demanding the immediate suppression of the Order. On the other hand many of the bishops said that the Order could not be judicially suppressed until the knights had been allowed to defend themselves. Seven Templars offered themselves as deputies for the defence, and Clement had them cast into prison. In March 1312 Philip came to Vienne and sat on the Pope's right hand while the pontiff preached against the Templars. On March the 22nd Clement 'provisionally', and not *de jure* or 'by way of a definite sentence', abolished the Order, although it had never been formally pronounced guilty. In May, to the vexation of Philip, he transferred the goods of the Order to the Knights of St. John, and then reserved to himself the case of the Grand Master and other high officers of the Order. The Council closed on the same day. It had been merely a pretext for giving some appearance of justice to the abolition of the Templars; and such trivialities as the proposed crusade and the reform of the Church, both of them on the nominal programme of the Council, had been quickly expedited and dismissed.

Then for a time the fate of the Templars is veiled in silence. But the silence is broken by the record of the tragic end of Jacques de Molay and of Gaufrid de Charnay, Preceptor of Normandy. In March 1314 they were brought to a scaffold erected in front of Notre-Dame, Paris. The Pope had committed the right of judging the accused to three cardinals, and their sentence was read before the assembled multitude. It was a sentence to lifelong imprisonment. Suddenly and unexpectedly the two Templars cried out that they were not guilty of the action of which they were accused, but only guilty of betraying the Order with a view to saving their own lives; the Order itself was pure. The astonished cardinals postponed their decision to the next day. But the king's council at once condemned the accused to death. Towards dusk a pile of faggots was erected on the little island in the Seine called 'l'Île des Juifs'. Facing death heroically and protesting their innocence, the Templars were burnt with their eyes towards Notre-Dame, and the light of the flames played on the walls of the king's palace. The next month died Pope Clement V.

After much dispute among the cardinals, Jacques Duèse of Cahors, an elderly Frenchman, was elected Pope, taking the name of John XXII (1316–1334). He was an eminent jurist and a hard worker, and his pontificate tested his qualities to the utmost. There were two candidates for the German throne, Louis IV of Bavaria and Frederic III of Austria. The former defeated his rival in 1322, but was forbidden by the Pope to discharge the functions of government until his election to the throne was confirmed by the papal chair. Louis IV replied by appealing from the Pope to a General Council and treating the Pope as one who had forfeited his chair by heresy. The alleged heresy consisted in reversing the decisions of former popes who had favoured the Franciscans, and in condemning the view that Christ and his apostles had no personal or even common property. Far more extreme and visionary beliefs were held by the so-called 'Spirituals' among the Franciscans. Excommunicated by the Pope for their schismatical tendencies, the 'Spirituals' joined other discontented elements in the Church, and rallied round Louis in opposition to the Pope.

Among these opponents of John XXII was the celebrated English Franciscan philosopher William of Occam, whose teaching subordinated the Pope to a general council, and a general council to Scripture and the whole body of the faithful. William of Occam went to Pisa in 1328 and there conferred with two learned doctors of the University of Paris, Marsilius of Padua and John of Jandun. Some four years previously these two men had produced the adventurous treatise called *Defensor Pacis*. This book, though neither very lucid nor entirely logical, had quickly captured the attention of the learned. Its theories were novel and audacious, and it might be called not so much a defender of the peace as a declaration of war. It treated the medieval prerogatives of the papacy as fictitious and the papacy as a human institution, leaving the sovereign pontiff only the rank of president in an episcopal republic. It denied any coercive authority of the hierarchy, even over clerics, unless this authority was conceded by the people, and it affirmed that the whole body of the faithful, or their delegate *the head of the State*, ought to choose persons to be admitted to holy orders, appoint to benefices, and authorize religious institutions. Democratic in its essence, the *Defensor Pacis* could be forged into a weapon for the promotion of an aggressive imperialism, and John XXII very naturally condemned the authors of this troublesome treatise.

In 1327 Louis IV marched on Rome, and on January the 17th, 1328, was crowned in St. Peter's by Sciarra Colonna. He caused the clergy and people to depose John XXII, and he selected in his stead a 'Spiritual' Franciscan, who took the name of Nicolas V. Louis placed the 'fisherman's ring' on the finger of Nicolas, who was enthroned in St. Peter's ten days later. Nicolas then crowned Louis. Quick failure followed this quick success. The hapless antipope went to Avignon, and, with a halter round his neck, begged for absolution. The absolution was granted, and the penitent died in 1333 within the walls of the papal palace.

The next year John XXII was laid to rest in the cathedral of Avignon. He had caused great irritation by the indefatigable zeal with which he replenished the papal treasury. Among his fiscal measures was the extension of the practice of demanding annates—that is, the first year's income received by persons

freshly appointed to a benefice. Dante echoed the general sentiments of the people when he denounced 'greedy wolves in sheep's clothing' who 'range wide o'er all the pastures'. But it is only fair to add that John XXII did not devote to luxury the fruits of his talent in finance. Though he lavished gifts upon his brothers and sisters, his nephews and nieces, and his fellow townsmen of Cahors, he lived simply and worked hard, he promoted learning, and encouraged missionary enterprise in Asia.

The two next popes, Benedict XII (1334–1342) and Clement VI (1342–1352), were men of very diverse characters, the former the son of a French miller, the latter the son of a French lord. Benedict XII was a Cistercian with a strong sense of duty, and he took great pains to secure reforms in the religious orders and good appointments to ecclesiastical offices. Realizing that Rome could never be his home, he began to erect the papal palace at Avignon. He condemned the doctrine of John XXII to the effect that the souls of the righteous will not enjoy the beatific vision of God until after the last judgement. Benedict's pontificate is also remarkable for his relations with the Armenians. The Crusades had made Latin Christendom better acquainted with the ancient Church of Armenia, and the Dominicans distinguished themselves by their efforts to bring that Church into union with Rome. Many Armenian monks were induced to accept papal supremacy. Like other converts they were inclined to show more zeal than knowledge, and one John of Kerni pronounced the orders and even the baptism of the Armenian Church to be invalid. Another Armenian embarrassed the Pope by presenting to him a list of one hundred and seventeen errors and superstitions held by his compatriots. Vigorous protests and recriminations were the result, and the cause of reunion was injured. In spite of these obstacles, the worship of the national Church of Armenia contains distinct traces of Western influence to this day. A stranger proof of intercourse between East and West is the fact that in 1338 Pope Benedict XII received sixteen delegates of the Khan of Tartary.

In dealing with Louis of Bavaria, Pope Benedict XII was at first no less conciliatory than John XXII had been unbending. This provoked the jealousies of the Kings of France and Naples, who exerted themselves to prejudice the Pope

against Louis. Three embassies came from Louis to Avignon with no definite result; and the consequence was that Louis made an alliance, both defensive and offensive, with Edward III of England. Weary of internal strife, and sickened by the inaction of the Pope, the Germans took their own affairs into their own hands. At Rense, on July the 16th, 1338, all the prince-electors of the Empire, with the exception of the King of Bohemia, swore to defend the liberties of the Empire. They declared that the emperor's authority came immediately from God alone, and that the prince whom the electors had lawfully elected needed no further confirmation for his title of king and emperor. These principles were upheld soon afterwards by the Diet of Frankfurt, a city which was under the Pope's interdict from 1329 to 1349. His position having been strengthened in Germany, Louis deserted Edward III and allied himself with the French. He entered into negotiations with the new Pope, Clement VI, who demanded such severe conditions of peace that a rupture followed and a bull deprived him of his empire. He died in 1347 after the electors had chosen his friend Charles, King of Bohemia, as emperor (Charles IV).

Clement VI (1342–1352) was a Benedictine and a theologian. He boasted that his predecessors had not known how to be popes, and he considered that a successor of St. Peter ought to live like a prince. He was a munificent patron of the arts, and the pontifical palace was resplendent with rich decorations and sumptuous apparel. He bought cloth of gold from Damascus, silk from Tuscany, woollen cloth from Flanders, and linen from Paris; and in the season for wearing furs he had in his wardrobe cloaks and caps made of more than a thousand ermine skins. In his methods of taxation he displayed an unlimited rapacity, a rapacity which did not exceed the demands which were made upon him by greedy adventurers, clerical and lay. But he wished to be clement in deed as well as in name. In the awful plague of 1347 he was generous in relieving the distressed. He opposed the cruel diversion of harrying the Jews and condemned the fanaticism of the Flagellants who scourged themselves for the glory of God. He made Casimir of Poland do penance for committing adultery. He founded the University of Prague and he

tried to stop the Hundred Years War between France and England. The most formidable danger that he had to face was in the Eternal City itself.

In 1343 he gave the position of apostolic notary to Nicola or Cola di Rienzi. This man, the eloquent and vigorous son of a tavern-keeper, took the title of tribune and liberator of the Roman Republic in 1347. Clever in interpreting the aspirations of the multitude, he spoke with passion of the glory and the servitude of Rome, published new laws, was given unlimited authority, and organized the police and the collection of taxes. Intoxicated with success, he cited the two claimants of the imperial throne, Louis the Bavarian and Charles of Bohemia, to appear before him, and offended the Pope by proposing to set up a new Roman empire. His power rapidly declined, the Pope denounced him as a pagan and a heretic; he fled to Charles, now practically emperor, and Charles delivered him up to Clement VI, who imprisoned him at Avignon.

Innocent VI (1352–1362), a Frenchman born in Limousin, came to the throne when Rome was torn by anarchy. Hoping to restore order, he gave to Rienzi the rank of senator and sent him to Rome as a companion of the able Spanish cardinal, Albornoz, Vicar-General of the States of the Church. Albornoz was active, prudent, and diplomatic; but Rienzi, after a brief revival of his former popularity, became detested for his cruelty, and was killed by the mob in 1354.

Innocent VI was a man of high character. He reduced the luxury of the papal court, prohibited pluralities, and tried to make the higher clergy reside in their benefices and sees. He protested against the famous Golden Bull of Charles IV, promulgated in 1356, which recognized and strengthened the power of the electors who chose the German kings, and which ignored all claims of the popes to confirm their election, or to nominate any one to administer the Empire during a vacancy.

Urban V (1362–1370), a French Benedictine of blameless character with a zeal for education, had a brief but memorable reign. He was crowned at Avignon. At the entreaties of Peter de Lusignan, King of Cyprus, and the Carmelite monk Peter Thomas, he proclaimed a new crusade. The chief enemies of Christendom were no longer the Arabs, but the Mongols, who

devastated Asia, and the Ottoman Turks, who threatened the whole of south-eastern Europe. The Crusaders were able for a time to occupy Alexandria in 1365, but in the very same year the Turks entered the strong city of Adrianople, which they keep at the present day. And before another generation had passed they had fought with the Serbians in the grim battle of Kossovo, where the Serbians, without being wholly vanquished, lost so heavily that their subjugation in the next century was inevitable. Though the crusade effected little, the Pope had the satisfaction of receiving into communion with Rome the Greek emperor John Palaeologus, who gained very little worldly advantage in return for his spiritual migration.

Before this event took place the Pope, to the consternation of the French court, had left Avignon for Rome, where no pope had stayed for sixty years. His return was hailed with delight, and the poet Petrarch celebrated it in the words of the psalmist, 'When Israel came out of Egypt and the house of Jacob from among a strange people'. The Pope was visited by the Emperor Charles IV and crowned the Empress Elizabeth, thus cementing papal friendship with the Empire of the West as well as the Empire of the East. But life in Rome was so troubled that he returned to Avignon and died there on his rough bed and in his Benedictine habit.

The revolt against the papacy, which was ripening in England during the days of Urban V, will be mentioned later.

Gregory XI (1370–1378), a learned man of noble origin, gentle and irresolute except in opposing heresy, was the last of the French popes. He failed to reconcile England and France, or to help the Greeks against the Turks. He had more success in Italy, which was torn with strife after the death of Cardinal Albornoz. Florence, Perugia, and Milan rebelled against him. Florence, a centre of commerce, art, and letters, with a population of at least 100,000, replied to the Pope's interdict by levying a tax on Church property and ordering the clergy to disregard the Pope's action. Gregory then sent an army of Bretons to invade the territory of the Florentine republic. The Bretons were commanded by Cardinal Robert of Geneva, afterwards the antipope Clement VII. Then, in 1376, St. Catherine of

Siena went to Avignon as a peacemaker. Peace was not immediately attained, but the humble and saintly woman, who some years earlier had become a member of the third order of St. Dominic, did more than any one else to induce the Pope to heal the strife between warring nations and to go back to Rome. Knowing the weakness of his health and aware of other perils, Gregory began his journey. He arrived in Rome on January the 17th, 1377, and died there in March. His opposition to the teaching of Wycliffe will be considered later (p. 224).

A general survey of the French period of the papacy, the period of the Babylonish Captivity, will leave upon the mind of the careful student the impression that the popes were not as black as they have been painted. They made some real protests on the side of right, some efforts on behalf of peace in Europe and Christian missions in Asia. But their propensity for accumulating money and their subservience to the interests of France were obvious. The popes lost prestige in Italy, Germany, and England, and their attempt to centralize all authority in themselves provoked jurists, philosophers, and preachers to ally themselves with the new social forces which threatened the Church with a reformation from without instead of a reformation from within.

Some further details regarding the papal method of governing the Church may now be considered.

In the middle of the thirteenth century we find that the popes had begun to 'provide' persons for ecclesiastical offices and benefices without regarding the rights of patrons, and ClementV claimed the right to appoint all bishops instead of leaving the election of bishops in the hands of the cathedral chapters. The popes disposed of benefices to men of their own choosing before those benefices became vacant, and in 1344 Clement VI claimed the full right to dispose of 'all churches, dignities, offices, and ecclesiastical benefices'. The promotion of non-resident foreigners to English benefices as a reward for their services to the popes was somewhat exasperating to Englishmen, but their exasperation was increased by the Pope encouraging men to resort to his own legal courts rather than to the courts of their own

country. And when they knew that the large subsidies levied in England passed from the papal chests at Avignon into the hands of the French army their indignation found an outlet in the English Parliament.

The English Parliament, in 1343, forbade absolutely any one to bring into England letters, briefs, and 'provisions' contrary to the rights of the king or his subjects, and those who broke the law were to be brought before the king's courts. Clement VI concealed his vexation and by delay and diplomacy calmed the rising storm. Hostilities soon broke out afresh. In 1346 King Edward III confiscated the benefices held by aliens. And in 1351 Parliament passed the Statute of Provisors. It openly charged the Pope of Rome with encroaching upon the rights of others, affirmed that the free election of bishops and other dignitaries should take place in accordance with ancient practice, and that if certain patrons and the bishop unduly delayed in appointing to a benefice the king should have the right to appoint. Edward III seems not to have used this law, but to have kept it as a weapon in reserve. In 1353 the attack on Rome was renewed in the Statute of Praemunire (from *praemonere*, to pre-admonish), which prohibits, under pain of the loss of all property and all civil rights, the transference of cases from the king's court to any foreign court. A further step was taken in 1366, in the time of Urban V. He had demanded the payment of the yearly tribute of one thousand marks which had been promised by King John, a tribute which was thirty-three years in arrears. This impolitic request was answered by the Lords and Commons of England, who, after consulting with the clergy, declared that Edward III was under no obligations to pay what John had promised without the consent of the nation. They also threatened to oppose the Pope if he should take canonical proceedings against the king. Such was the soil on which the doctrines of Wycliffe grew and spread. Gregory XI renewed the papal claims, but made a few concessions, and Edward III promised not to put in force the obnoxious statutes. They met each other half-way, and they agreed upon an armistice. But the fact remains that in the reign of Edward III the English King and Parliament checked the encroachments of Rome. And this was emphasized before the close of the century by the statute of Richard II, which claimed

for the king's court his old rights in the matter of ecclesiastical patronage and forbade under heavy penalties the purchase of bulls from Rome (1392).

Nevertheless, it must be remembered that England, as a part of a united Latin Christendom, shared the common law, the *Ius Commune*, of canons and decretals which had the same force throughout that Christian commonwealth. It would be a mistake to suppose that the Roman Canon Law was only current so far as it was incorporated into the native English Canon Law. Archbishop Peckham's Constitution against pluralities shows us that in the thirteenth century the English Spiritualty could venture to legislate contrary to a recent decretal. But Peckham humbly excused himself to the Pope for his conduct, and in the fifteenth century Lyndwood, the great English authority on Canon Law, holds definitely that though the archbishop may supplement papal legislation, he has no power to derogate from or abrogate the laws made by his superior, whether Pope or legate.

XV

TEUTONS, POLES, AND RUSSIANS

THE thirteenth and fourteenth centuries witnessed a long struggle between the Germans and Swedes on the one side, and on the other side, the races, both Indo-European and Ural-Altaic, that lived on their frontiers. The Ural-Altaic people were the Livs and Ehsts, relatives of the Finns. The Indo-Europeans were (i) the Slavonic Poles and Pomeranians, and (ii) the Lithuanians, Letts, and Old Prussians, three Baltic races akin to the Slavs. The Slavs of Russia were inevitably affected, and the Eastern Church no less than the Western was involved in the half-religious, half-political movements of the time.

To spread Christianity among the heathen Letts, Livs, and Ehsts, there was founded in 1202 a German Order of the Knights of the Sword of Livonia, which was soon afterwards recognized by Pope Innocent III. Missionaries sent by the Archbishop of Bremen had begun to labour among the Livs and Ehsts by 1186, and in 1201 a bishopric was established at Riga. The first missionary was an Augustinian canon named Meinhard, but the Chapter of Riga was composed of Premonstratensians. In 1255 Riga was made the seat of an archbishop, whose province included the bishoprics of Kurland, Dorpat, and Oesel. The Order of the Sword united with the Teutonic Order in 1237, but, unlike the latter, it was under the feudal authority of the bishops of the province. The result was that the Order of the Sword found itself engaged in constant quarrels with the Archbishop of Riga, a town which became an important centre of trade between the Hanseatic towns in the West and Novgorod and other Russian cities in the East. To the end of the Middle Ages the bishops and the cathedral chapters were not Letts or Ehsts, but Germans, and for this reason Lutheranism in the sixteenth century became, and still remains, the religion of the majority of the people.

The Teutonic Order, or German Order of the Knights of St. Mary's Hospital at Jerusalem, was one of the most characteristic creations of the Middle Ages. It began as a philan-

thropic society, it became an aristocratic club and a commercial partnership, and was finally metamorphosed into a Protestant duchy. Its stormy career was started in 1190, when some good German merchants, at the time of the siege of Acre, drew ashore a vessel which they converted into a hospital ship. A few years later the brethren of the German Hospital, now established at Jerusalem, were raised to the order of knights, and from thenceforth only noblemen were admitted to its ranks. Unlike the Order of the Templars, it was of a national character. It was essentially German. For a hundred years its headquarters were at Acre, but as early as 1228 the Polish Duke of Masovia, Conrad, invited the knights to settle at Kulm and aid him in subduing the heathen Prussians. They came and took a leading part in the great struggle between the Teuton and the Slav, which has never really ceased.

The Germans, farmers, merchants, and monks, had long been spreading German civilization and religion between the Oder and the Vistula, and their influence was extending into Bohemia and Poland. Missionary work began in Prussia in 1206 under Abbot Gottfried of Stekno, and was continued by a Cistercian named Christian, who in 1215 became Bishop of Prussia under the jurisdiction of the See of Gnesen in Poland. The peaceful penetration of the Gospel was soon combined with more violent measures. Christian obtained the help of Conrad, and founded an order of knights to conquer Prussia for the Church and for Masovia. He was not successful in his crusades, and so the Teutonic Order was invoked, as we have noticed, and was promised any territory that it might conquer. Fortresses were built at Thorn and Elbing, Danzig and Königsberg; Livonia was secured in 1237 and later Samogitia. Independent of all secular authority, the Order also freed itself from all episcopal authority in 1234 by surrendering its territories to the Pope and receiving them back again as a fief. The Grand Master settled at Marienburg on the Vistula, where he held a splendid court. Under him was a general chapter or advisory board. The Order comprised twenty districts, each of which was under a commander. Each individual was entirely subject to his superiors. The Church was identical with the State, and the bishops and most of the canons belonged to the Order.

By the middle of the fourteenth century the wealth of the Order, the brilliance of its court, and its spirit of chivalry and adventure were renowned over the greater part of Europe, and Chaucer's 'perfect knight' is represented as having travelled in its borders. But the facts that the Order was an Order of aliens, and that its military and commercial success was more obvious than its piety, bred strife among its subjects at home. Externally, the hideous cruelty shown by the knights towards the pagan Lithuanians of Samogitia in 1378 was the immediate harbinger of their downfall, and the conversion of Lithuania itself in 1386 deprived the Order of any excuse for posing as a missionary power. The time for crusades was over and gone.

Poland was slow in recovering from the military defeats and pagan revival of the early half of the eleventh century. At the end of the same century there was some improvement, and early in the twelfth century, under Boleslav III, aided by St. Otto, Bishop of Bamberg, the heathen Pomeranians under Polish rule were converted. A hundred years later Pomerania was sufficiently powerful to assert its independence, and in 1241 the Tatar savages appeared, defeated the Poles, burnt Cracow, invaded Silesia, and conquered its princes, and then defeated the King of Hungary, Bela IV. The Tatar chief Batu found his forces at last exhausted by their repeated victories, and he was defeated by the Moravians at Olmütz. The result of the Tatar invasion of Poland was to modify the whole future history of the country, though not in the same way as the history of Russia was modified. The population was so greatly diminished that it was necessary to invite foreigners to supply new blood for the life of Poland. The Germans came to sell their goods and ply their crafts, and, enjoying special privileges from the prince, they formed strong and flourishing towns. There was another disastrous Tatar raid in 1259, and then the Poles had to fight the Lithuanians. The ruin of the country seemed certain, and the knights of the Teutonic Order were hastening that ruin until they were defeated by Vladislav I at Plowce in 1332. His son Casimir III (1333–1370) transformed the whole condition of affairs. Far-sighted, persevering, and astute, he did not contest the rights which had been secured by

the nobility in the previous years of anarchy, but he covered the country with a network of administration which secured justice for every class. The poor were protected against aristocratic tyranny, order was maintained in the towns, and military service was attached to the ownership of property. The laws were codified and brigandage was suppressed. The cities of Cracow, Posen, Lemberg (Lvov), and Lublin became rich and busy international markets. The Jews, who had come northwards from the Adriatic and eastwards from the Rhine, were under royal protection, and increased the wealth of the country. Schools were multiplied as well as fortifications, and a university was founded at Cracow under papal authority in 1364. Fine churches were erected in a style akin to German Gothic. The official language of the State was Latin.

Casimir realized that he was not strong enough to fight the Teutonic Order, and turned his attention to the Red Russians (Ruthenians) of what is now the eastern part of Galicia. Once the cradle of the Serbian and the Croatian peoples, it had come under Russia in the twelfth century. The Russian authority waned and the people were threatened by Tatars, Lithuanians, Hungarians, and Poles. In 1335 they chose to be under the Poles, with whom they were far more closely connected than the rest. And though Casimir's right to rule Galicia was disputed, he maintained it successfully, and Polish rule was established along the whole length of the river Vistula. The establishment of Polish rule in Galicia was quickly followed by the establishment of a Latin archbishopric at Galitch, removed later to Lemberg, with suffragan sees at Przemysl, Chelm, and Vladimir, a measure which bore bitter fruit in later days.

Lithuania has the distinction of being the last country in Europe in which paganism was the official religion. This Indo-European people, as fair as the Angles who attracted St. Gregory in Rome, retained amid the forests and marshes near Vilna and Kovno a language which is nearer to the Sanskrit than any other language in Europe,[1] and a mythology which has left deep traces in their songs and speech. In the thirteenth century they were almost entirely cut off from access to the Baltic by the

[1] The Gypsy language is of Sanskrit origin, but the Gypsies are not found in Europe before the eleventh century of the Christian era.

Teutonic Order and the Order of the Sword, who first conquered and then colonized, with the result that a strip of Germanized territory stretched from Danzig to Libau and eastward beyond Riga. In the fourteenth century the Orders encountered a valiant opposition from the Lithuanians, now an organized as well as independent state. About a hundred years earlier their prince Mendovg, a cunning and valiant leader, had united his people and had been baptized in 1250 at Novgorod Litovsk, accepting a crown from Pope Innocent IV. He thus checkmated the Teutonic Order by placing himself under papal protection. As soon as he had gained sufficient influence among the tribes nearest to the Lithuanians, he threw away the pretence of being a Christian and successfully attacked his German enemies (1260). Internal wars followed, and he was killed in 1263.

Mendovg had retained and enlarged the authority which his father had exercised over the neighbouring branches of the Russian race. Gedymin (1316–1341) increased it, gaining Pinsk, Grodno, Polotsk, and other districts, and made an alliance with Poland against the Knights of the Sword of Livonia. His sons Olgierd and Kiejstut were no less enterprising and showed remarkable gifts of statecraft. Olgierd was a diplomatist in favour of union with Russia. His wife was a Christian, and he himself was baptized according to the Eastern Orthodox rite. Kiejstut was a pagan and a warrior, and engaged in constant wars with Livonia. He and his brothers recognized the supremacy of Olgierd, and Lithuania seemed likely to become one of the largest states in Europe. It included many of the Tatars in the south, the White Russians of Vitebsk, Mohilev, and Minsk, and the Little Russians of Podolia, Volhynia, and Kiev. Thus the Lithuanian princes, who actually used White Russian as their official language, held possession of some of the most hallowed Russian soil and were naturally regarded with fear and hatred by the Russians of Moscow. The union of Poland and Lithuania was the result of their common fear of the Teutonic Order.

The Teutonic knights, hoping to divide and conquer, tried to estrange the two brothers, with the result that Kiejstut was murdered in 1382. The Teutonic Order then set up his son

Vitovt in opposition to Jagiello, who had succeeded his father Olgierd. Jagiello saw his danger; he made peace with Vitovt and looked towards Poland. After the death, in 1382, of Lewis, the successor of Casimir, the Polish nobles proclaimed as their sovereign Jadviga (Hedwig) his younger daughter. She was already betrothed to William, son of Leopold of Austria. But the nobles, supported by the voice of the people, forced William to leave Cracow and encouraged Jagiello the Grand Duke of Lithuania in his overtures for the hand of Jadviga. The conditions necessary for their espousals were that he should embrace the Catholic faith and recognize the rights of the Polish nobility. He consented, and took the title of Vladislav II. The marriage took place in 1386, although Jadviga had little desire to wed the ruler of the last openly pagan country in Europe. But the Lithuanians, who had hated Christianity as the German religion, were now ready to accept the faith, and in a few years peaceful persuasion and encouragement did more for religion than the sword of the Teutonic Order had accomplished in generations.

Jagiello staunchly supported the Church, and founded a bishopric at Vilna. A plan of the city as it existed near this period shows an Orthodox church and monastery, churches of the Franciscans and Dominicans, and two heathen temples, one of which was on the site of the present cathedral. While Lithuania was brought into a new and invigorating contact with Christianity and civilization, Poland was immensely strengthened by its union with a state far larger than itself, and became fitted for the high position which it occupied in the sixteenth century. Cracow was not only a centre of art and learning, but also a centre of commerce, being situated between the East and the West and in touch with Danzig, Moscow, Breslau, and Prague. And it enjoyed the steady patronage of the kings of Poland, who for several generations were crowned and buried in the cathedral church.

When Vitovt, in 1383, came into possession of his father's dominions, he had by no means severed his connexion with the Teutonic Order. A capable ruler who did much for Christianity in his own country, he conceived the grandiose design of annexing a large part of Russia with the help of the Teutonic

knights. To do this he must beat the Tatars who still held sway over Russia. He met them in August 1399 at the battle of Voskla on the Lower Dnieper, where the Lithuanians were crushed by hordes of Tatar warriors. Defeated but not daunted, Vitovt saw the wisdom of a close alliance with Poland. It was agreed that he should be recognized as the independent Grand Duke of Lithuania, but that the two states should have a common policy. The wisdom of this agreement was quickly proved. He was involved in a series of wars with the Teutonic Order, and, stung by their savage methods of 'converting' the Samogitians, he concluded a treaty with Jagiello in 1409 for the purpose of defeating them. The combined forces of the Lithuanians, Poles, Ruthenians, White Russians, and Czechs met the Teutonic Order at Tannenberg in July 1410, and inflicted on them a defeat so crushing that the Order never recovered. It was only left in possession of East Prussia, and held it as a vassal of Poland.

Vitovt's ecclesiastical affinities were wide and varied. Although his success at Tannenberg was won with the help of Hussite auxiliaries from Bohemia, he was duly respected at Rome as a commanding personality who had actively promoted Christianity within his own dominions. He had given his daughter in marriage to Basil, Grand Duke of Muscovy, and his subjects were to a large extent members of the Eastern Church. Kiev, the holy city of Russia, which had been for eighty years (1240–1320) in the hands of the Mongols, formed part of his dominions, and he promoted a learned Bulgarian named Tsamblak to this important see. At one time it seemed likely that his opposition to the Germans would lead him to oppose their form of Christianity and so gratify the national and religious sentiments of his subjects.

Jagiello and his Polish aristocracy had not the least desire to support such a policy. The Poles would not break with a Church to which they owed so much. The connexion between Rome and Poland was close and honourable. Not only had Cistercians, Dominicans, and Franciscans laboured for the conversion and edification of the people, and papal legates frequently visited the country, but the clergy had really served the interests of the

humbler classes and even protected them from the Teutonic knights. The Poles therefore could neither break with Rome nor take a step which would imply that Poland was to follow the lead of Lithuania. The solidarity of the two states was cemented by the Union of Horodlo in 1413, which modelled the constitution of Lithuania after that of Poland. Lithuania thus became a vanguard of the Western Church, and Poland became unhappily involved in the hostility between Lithuania and Moscow, a misfortune which one day was to cost Poland her independence.

The history of Russia from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century is very unlike the history of Poland. It is a tale of sorrow and struggling until the little state of Muscovy became a powerful principality, and emerged from the tutelage of Tatar Muslims into the rank of the chief protector of Orthodox Christianity. If early Russia was to some extent bound together by the ascendancy of Kiev, that unity was shattered by the 'terrible strangers' who poured into the country early in the thirteenth century. The former home of their leaders had been Mongolia, and they were known as the 'Golden Horde'. They were pagans, practising the crude necromantic Shamanism which still lingers among the Tatars of Siberia, but they adopted Islam in 1272. They built for themselves on the Lower Volga a capital called Sarai, and held Russia in subjection for nearly three centuries. It was a broken and mutilated Russia. The Baltic provinces were taken and colonized by the Teutonic Order. And the more western Russians, the Red Russians, the Little Russians, and the White Russians, came under the power of Lithuania, and through Lithuania came into contact with Poland. They became more progressive than the people of central Russia and more amenable to Western culture and religion.

The real Russia was a region which had been comparatively recently colonized by the Russian people. It included the four principalities of Riazan, Tver, Suzdal, and Moscow. For a time, however, a more northerly city, Great Novgorod, where the primitive vikings had settled, was the most important centre of Russian life. Here the great national hero of Russia, St. Alexander Nevski, became ruler as a mere boy in 1228. A contem-

porary of the Tatar invasion he was forced into constant wars with the Germans, Swedes, and Lithuanians, who, trying to profit by the arrival of the Tatars, were eager to take Novgorod and Pskov from the harassed Russians. He won his title of 'conqueror of the Neva' by defeating the Swedes on the bank of that river in 1240. Two years later he recovered Pskov from the Teutonic Order. Appointed by the Grand Khan to rule first in Kiev and Novgorod, and afterwards in Vladimir, he devoted himself to the amelioration of the lot of the Russians under Tatar rule. He journeyed to Sarai and obtained both a mitigation of the tribute exacted from the Russians and their exemption from military service under the Tatars. He died on his way home in 1263, and was canonized for his devotion to his people and his Church. The struggle with the Swedes continued after his death and was not ended until 1323, when the Swedes were left in possession of the territory of Abo, their centre in Finland, and the Russians finally secured the land around the site of the future city of St. Petersburg.

One of the most touching stories in the history of Christendom is told in connexion with a visit which Alexander Nevski paid to the Golden Horde. The Tatars, not intolerant towards Christianity, were determined that he should show his respect for their religious susceptibilities by doing obeisance to one of their idols. The alternative was the devastation of his country. Alexander was therefore faced with a cruel dilemma. If he complied with the demand of his pagan masters, he believed that he would lose his own soul. If he refused, he knew that his people would be exposed to the horrors of massacre and starvation. But he decided to yield, willing to be, in the words of St. Paul, 'accursed from Christ for his brethren'. He bowed himself down before the Shamanist idol and was allowed to depart in peace, but with the conviction that he had paid the utmost that man could ever pay for his fellow men.

Although Novgorod and its famous churches had escaped devastation at the hands of the Tatars, it was Moscow and not Novgorod that secured precedence among the rival Russian principalities. It was surrounded by Riazan, Tver, and Suzdal, but, instead of being smothered by its neighbours, it gradually

became their master. Not only did the representatives of the princely line possess a rare degree of perseverance, but they turned to their own advantage their subjection to the khans of the Golden Horde. The conquerors lived in their own camps, and were tolerant so long as their vassals were submissive and paid a regular tribute. The mere fact that Moscow seemed insignificant inspired them with confidence in the Muscovite. The princes levied the taxes for the Golden Horde, kept peace at home, erected a new and pliant aristocracy, and attracted a loyal and contented population. They never hurried. They bought, they took, and, if absolutely necessary, they fought; and by the time of Ivan Kalita (1328–1341) their territory had increased sixfold and their commercial relations soon extended from England to the Crimea.

The princes, now 'Grand Princes', were staunch allies of the Church. The metropolitans kept the old title of Metropolitan of Kiev, though they began to live in Moscow. One of them, Peter, travelled to the Golden Horde in 1313 and obtained from Usbek a document which exempted from taxation all priests with their families and property. Ivan Kalita met him at the court of the Khan and brought him to Moscow, where the next metropolitan permanently installed himself (1328). Side by side with the hierarchy were numerous monks and hermits, who exercised a deep influence over the common people. They acted as pioneers of civilization almost unawares. After Suzdal had been submerged by the Tatars, the hermits were the first to resume the work of colonization. They made their homes in desolate places, the faithful visited their cells as the faithful in earlier ages had visited the cells or pillars where the ancient hermits of the desert worked and taught. Walls were built, near the shelter of which the peasants began to settle, markets were founded. Thus the monks took possession of the basin of the Volga and the coast of the White Sea.

In Russia, as in Western Europe, the monks played an important part in missionary work among the heathen. St. Stephen, Bishop of Perm, was born in the remote district of which he was to be the evangelist and the bishop. A zealous student in the monastery of St. Gregory at Rostov, he spent thirteen years in preparing himself to teach the barbarous people whose language

he had acquired in his youth. He learnt Greek in order to make better translations of sacred books, and he reduced the language of Perm to writing. He preached the Gospel, confounded the magicians, destroyed idols, and taught young converts how to be the teachers and priests of a native Church. He was consecrated bishop in 1383, and devoted himself to both the material and the spiritual welfare of his flock, defending them against the oppression of their Russian rulers. He died at Moscow in 1396, a worthy forerunner of the Russian missionaries who laboured among the Tatars and the Japanese in modern days.

A contemporary of St. Stephen of Perm was St. Sergius (d. 1392). He was the founder of the Troitsa (Trinity) monastery, forty miles from Moscow, a place which continued to our own day to be visited by princes and peasants, and was a focus of Russian faith and patriotism. In the troublous days of the seventeenth century the Troitsa monastery became for a time the very heart of the movement which rescued Russia from the Poles. It would be difficult to exaggerate the influence exercised by the great Russian monasteries where pilgrims flocked to pray at the shrines of departed founders and patriots.

It was St. Sergius who gave his blessing to Dmitri Donskoï, to whom the Tatar khan had granted the title of Grand Prince at the request of the Duma, or senate of nobles. Dmitri (d. 1389) pursued a policy more adventurous and heroic than his predecessors. He determined to subdue the Russians of Tver and Riazan, who became the allies of the Lithuanians and the Golden Horde, with the result that Dmitri appeared as the champion of Orthodoxy against Muslims and Latins. He sent an army against Kazan and crushed the Tatar forces. All eastern and southern Russia then hoped that the dawn of their deliverance had come. The Tatars, seeing their danger, brought up a huge army to the plain of Kulikovo on September the 8th, the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, 1380. They were brilliantly defeated by Dmitri, who prevented a junction of the Tatar and Lithuanian armies and took the victory out of their hands by ordering a concealed body of cavalry to charge at the critical moment. The people hailed Dmitri by the title of conqueror of the Don (Donskoï). But their joy was soon turned

to sorrow. The Golden Horde was reorganized by Tokhtamych, and the Tatars, reinforced from the wilds of Asia, burnt Moscow and massacred its inhabitants. Dmitri in one sense failed; but linked with his failure was success, for the memory of Kulikovo served to remind the people that they had conquered, and might still conquer, their alien rulers.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century Muscovy was slowly beginning to recover. A period of savage strife between the different members of the princely family followed under Basil III (1425–1462). But in the year that Constantinople fell Basil's supremacy was absolutely safe, and he was left as the sole sovereign who could succeed to the Greek emperors as the chief layman in the Orthodox Eastern Church (1453). Throughout the period which we have just reviewed the Muscovite rulers had done much to secure this heritage for their throne. In the days of St. Alexander Nevski, Pope Innocent IV endeavoured to gain a recognition of his supremacy from the ruler of Muscovy, but the Russian replied that he preferred to abide by the Holy Scriptures and the Oecumenical Councils. The attachment of Poland and Lithuania to Rome strengthened the antipathy of Russia to the papacy, an antipathy which declared itself very plainly after the Council of Florence, which was held to promote union between East and West at a time when the Turk was almost at the gates of Constantinople.

XVI

LATER MEDIEVAL PIETY

IN the period of nearly five hundred years which elapsed between the separation of Rome and Constantinople and the outbreak of the Reformation there was not any great addition to the fundamental dogmas of the Church. The three creeds known as the Apostles', the Nicene, and the *Quicumque vult* had gathered up the results of the Church's conflicts with heresy from the days of the early Gnostics to those of Nestorius, and defined the teaching of the New Testament concerning the Incarnation and the Trinity. Closely connected with the doctrine of the Person of Christ was the doctrine of the Eucharist, and in 1215 the Western Church at the Lateran Council accepted the term transubstantiation as describing the change effected by the consecration of the Eucharistic bread and wine. In the meantime new efforts were made to explain how the work of Christ was to be interpreted and the fruit of that work applied. The Atonement was studied with new interest, and St. Anselm's book explaining the redemptive and propitiatory nature of Christ's self-oblation shed light on an essential element in the doctrine of the Bible. On this, and many other subjects, Rome had made no authoritative utterance, although the doctrine of the Pope's infallibility had already been affirmed by St. Thomas Aquinas. But there existed a great area of religious practice and custom, good and evil, sanctioned and sometimes actively encouraged by the leaders of the Church, and made authoritative by papal permission.

One of the best features of new thought and new movement in piety is the fresh love for Jesus Christ as Man, and gratitude for His Passion. His Godhead is understood through His manhood, and the great hymns of this period seem indeed to be a 'new song' of His redeemed. The poignant verses of Thomas of Celano which describe the day of Judgement have a note of pathos which is repeated in other and more joyous hymns. In England we are fortunate in possessing excellent translations of many of these hymns, and the hold which even these translations have gained upon the affections of the people

is a proof that religious taste, like other tastes, can be educated. Probably to a Benedictine abbess we are indebted for the lines:

> Jesu! the hope of souls forlorn!
> How good to them for sin that mourn!
> To them that seek Thee, O how kind!
> But what art Thou to them that find?![1]

Bernard of Cluny (and Morlas[2]) has gained access to modern hearts with the hymn containing the words:

> Brief life is here our portion,
> Brief sorrow, short-lived care;
> The life that knows no ending,
> The tearless life, is there.

Of the Eucharistic hymns of St. Thomas Aquinas it is impossible to say which is most popular or most deserves to be popular. But the essence of them all is to be found in the lines:

> Bone pastor, panis vere,
> Iesu, nostri miserere,
> Tu nos pasce, nos tuere,
> Tu nos bona fac videre,
> in terra viventium.

It should be noted that in the earlier Middle Ages secular poetry retained the old classical metres. But in the twelfth century the Latin secular lyrics of love and spring, lyrics with a wonderful command of rhyme and versification, owe their form to the rhymed verses employed in the services of the Church.

One of the latest and best products of medieval English piety is the *Jesus Psalter*, a long pathetic litany ending with the words 'O Jesus, let me frequently and attentively consider, that whatsoever I gain, if I lose Thee, all is lost; and whatever I lose, if I gain Thee, all is gained'. It was for many generations printed in English Roman Catholic prayer books, such as Challoner's *Garden of the Soul*.

The practice of carving or painting the wounded heart of

[1] This hymn, *Jesu, dulcis memoria*, has commonly been ascribed to St. Bernard of Clairvaux, but it is not his, just as the hymn

> My God, I love thee, not because
> I hope for heaven thereby,

has been attributed to St. Francis Xavier, but was not written by that saint.

[2] Not, as often wrongly stated, of Morlaix.

Jesus, together with His wounded hands and feet, has left many traces in this country; the five wounds are on the banner of Marian times preserved in St. John's College, Oxford, and on a shield of stone in the University church.

With this devotion to the Passion of Christ there inevitably arose a deeper feeling of sympathy with His mother:

> At the Cross her station keeping
> Stood the mournful mother weeping
> Close to Jesus at the last.

The hymn 'Stabat Mater' came from Italy, but in England as well as Italy men remembered 'Our Lady of Pity' holding in her arms the lifeless body of her divine Son. This new feeling of tenderness knew no frontiers of race. Artists carried it from Italy to Russia, where it had already been in some degree anticipated. The mother of God is no longer painted as merely interceding or showing her Son to the worshipper. She holds her Child with the devotion of one who sadly guards a treasure which is threatened; and He consoles her with the pressure of His tiny hand or cheek. In all this the art of Novgorod and Moscow added something to the art of perishing Byzantium.

The 'Hail Mary', combining the salutations offered by the angel and by St. Elizabeth to the Virgin mother, had been recited before the thirteenth century. But not until the sixteenth century do we find the additional words, 'holy Mary, mother of God, pray for us sinners now and at the hour of our death. Amen.' The English *Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man* of 1543 simply gives 'Hail, Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee, Blessed art thou among women: and blessed is the fruit of thy womb.' In the thirteenth century it was already a pious custom in some places to recite a prayer in the evening at the time when the curfew bell was tolled. This developed into the 'Angelus' repeated at morning, noon, and night, and it is said that Elizabeth, queen of Henry VII of England, applied to Pope Sixtus IV for indulgences to be granted to those who said the Angelus. The rosary with its many Paters and Aves grew in popularity in the fifteenth century, thanks to the zeal of the Dominicans; but it had been employed

in some form by the Premonstratensians and Cistercians at an earlier date. The feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin, on December the 8th or 9th, and that of her Presentation in the Temple on November the 21st, had a somewhat romantic history. Observed by the Greeks, they were brought to England before the Norman conquest and certainly celebrated at Canterbury and Winchester. Both disappeared under Norman rule, and both began a new lease of life in Western Christendom in the thirteenth century. The observance of the festival of the Conception was complicated by the questions as to whether, and in what sense, Mary was conceived 'immaculate', free from all stain of original sin. This doctrine, opposed by St. Anselm, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, St. Bonaventura, and St. Thomas Aquinas, was warmly defended by the Franciscans, and in 1483 a bull of Pope Sixtus IV forbade Christians to describe as heretics the persons who defended it. It was only declared to be a dogma 'divinely revealed' by Pope Pius IX in 1854.[1]

The festival of St. Joseph is found in a Roman kalendar of the fifteenth century, but there was no widespread veneration of this saint. In the pictures of Christ enthroned, the old custom of placing, not St. Joseph, but the Baptist, with the Virgin mother, nearest to the throne, still remained.[2]

The cultus of the saints, and the pilgrimages to their shrines, did at least make the ordinary Christian feel that he belonged to the family of God's friends and the moral heroes of Christendom. But it was disfigured by great superstition. And Rome never undertook the drastic measures which were demanded by the naïve and childish customs of the people who owned her sway. In one diocese after another this or that reputed saint of the most doubtful authenticity was venerated; the ignorance of the people and the carelessness of the bishops neglected to

[1] For the doubts felt at that time with regard to this dogma see Dr. E. B. Pusey, *An Eirenicon* (Parker, Oxford, 1865). Connected with the belief that the Blessed Virgin was conceived immaculate is the belief that her body was taken up into heaven after her death. The festival of August the 15th, originally called the *Dormitio* or 'falling asleep' of Mary, was in England before the Norman conquest called the *Assumptio*, which suggests a bodily 'taking up'.

[2] The first known altar in England raised in honour of St. Joseph was that erected in the nineteenth century by Mr. Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle at Grace-Dieu, Leicestershire.

sift or to check such practices.[1] It is a consolation to find that in this matter St. Anselm showed an energy which deserved to be more widely imitated than it was. The English *Homily against Peril of Idolatry* says in rebuke of the popular saint-worship, 'All diseases have their special saints, as gods the curers of them; the pocks St. Roch, the falling-evil St. Cornelius, the tooth-ache St. Apollin, &c. Neither do beasts and cattle lack their gods with us; for St. Loy is the horse-leech, and Anthony the swineherd, &c. Where is God's providence and due honour in the mean season?' In the second half of the twelfth century the popes began to reserve to themselves the right to canonize. But the right of bishops to beatify a servant of God was not definitely taken from them until the seventeenth century.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the doctrine and system of administering the sacraments became more and more carefully defined in the West. Great differences of opinion existed as to the number of the sacraments, even where there was substantial agreement as to the nature of the seven different rites to which the name of 'sacrament' was eventually given. Paschasius Radbertus (d. 868) had only acknowledged two: Baptism, including Confirmation which was anciently administered in close connexion with Baptism, and the Lord's Supper. Rabanus Maurus reckoned Confirmation as a separate sacrament; and counted two sacraments in the Eucharist, one of the body and the other of the blood of Christ. Hugo of St. Victor still used the word in the wide vague sense which it bore in earlier times. He reckoned three sacraments as necessary to salvation, Baptism, Confirmation, and the Eucharist; another class consisted of those which were merely aids to salvation, such as sprinkling with holy water, extreme unction, and marriage, while the ordination of priests was a sacrament necessary for a particular calling. Peter Lombard fixed the number of sacraments as seven, Baptism, Confirmation, the Lord's Supper, Penance, Extreme Unction, Ordination, and Marriage. This number was authoritatively sanctioned by the Council of

[1] For a treatment of this subject see Hippolyte Delehaye, Bollandiste, *Sanctus, Essai sur le culte des Saints dans l'Antiquité* (Bruxelles, Société des Bollandistes, 1927).

Florence in A.D. 1439 and is accepted in the East as well as in the West. It had been accepted by a synod of London in 1237, which mentioned seven 'principal sacraments'.

Alexander of Hales, the celebrated English Franciscan Schoolman (d. 1245), gave special prominence to Baptism and the Eucharist, *as alone instituted by Christ*, a view which is retained in the English Thirty-nine Articles and other documents of the Reformation. St. Thomas Aquinas gave this rank to all the seven. But he drew a distinction between sacraments necessary to salvation and those not necessary. He regarded Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and Penance as necessary to salvation, without repudiating the theory of Peter Lombard that the desire to make a confession of mortal sins to a priest was sufficient if the actual confession was impossible. The fourth Lateran Council, A.D. 1215, made confession of sins to a priest necessary once a year, before the Easter Communion. But the practice of very frequent confession appears to have been very rare before the Reformation. A very desirable change began to make itself felt with regard to the celebration of Marriage. It had been the custom from very primitive times for the priest to pronounce a blessing on the marriage of a Christian pair, and from the ninth century onwards in the East this blessing was required by the State for all legal marriages. In the West the 'mutual consent' of the two contracting parties in the presence of a witness or witnesses was recognized as constituting a legal marriage. The second Lateran Council, A.D. 1139, and the fourth, required that the banns of those intending to marry should be published in church, but a marriage without the presence of a priest was recognized as valid by Rome until the sixteenth century.

Extreme unction, the 'last anointing', i.e. of the sick or dying, gradually assumed a somewhat new character. The earlier prayers for this rite show that the anointing was originally given for the healing of the body of the sick person, as is implied in St. James v. 14. But at this period it was taught that it was administered primarily for the removal of the 'remains of sins' left after baptism and confession and absolution. Hence there came a tendency to postpone the administration of extreme unction until the sick person was evidently dying, a practice which is opposed to the meaning of the prayers recited.

The sacrament of the altar occupied so prominent a place in the theology and worship of the Middle Ages that it calls for some special attention in even the briefest history. The Eucharist may be considered as both a sacrament and a sacrifice. Strange as it may seem, there was in the Middle Ages comparatively little discussion as to the meaning attached to the word sacrifice in this connexion. In Paschasius, in St. Ivo of Chartres, and Hildebert of Tours we find a parallel drawn between the sacrificial action of the Church in the Eucharist and the continuous propitiatory work of the ascended Christ on the throne of His Father. But such famous Schoolmen as Peter Lombard and St. Thomas Aquinas treated this subject very meagrely. And the result of such neglect was the growth of ideas which threatened the primitive Christian view of the unique character and infinite merit of Christ's death, the Mass being regarded as almost a repetition of His Passion.[1] Hence came at the Reformation those violent controversies which caused attempts to formulate the doctrine, attempts made in an atmosphere which was ill-fitted for the consideration of a mystery so affecting. But though the Schoolmen neglected the doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice, they were greatly occupied with discussion of the nature of Christ's presence under the forms of bread and wine. In earlier writers there can be discerned two distinct modes of regarding this presence. Some writers, like St. Cyril of Jerusalem, laid most stress upon the change by which the bread and wine became the body and blood of Christ at the prayer of consecration pronounced by the priest. Other writers, like St. Chrysostom and Pope Gelasius, laid stress upon the fact that in the sacrament so consecrated the union of the outward with the inward, the nature of Christ's body and His blood with the nature of the bread and the wine, resembled the union of the human and the divine elements in Christ's Person. These two views were sometimes combined. But in time the former came rather to submerge than to embrace the latter. And in opposition to the teaching of Berengarius of Tours and his predecessor Ratramnus there came a common adoption of the word transubstantiation as the fittest word to express the change

[1] See Dr. B. J. Kidd, *The Later Mediaeval Doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice* (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London, 1898).

of the elements into the body and blood of Christ. The word occurs in works of doubtful authenticity ascribed to St. Peter Damian (d. 1071) and Hildebert of Tours (d. 1134), and it was formally adopted at the Lateran Council in 1215. It was a word which was associated with the philosophical tenet then current that everything possesses an invisible substance apart from the accidents of shape, colour, taste, weight, &c., which are discerned by the senses. Therefore it was taught that while the accidents of bread and wine after they are consecrated remain exactly as they were before, the substance of the elements is changed into the body and blood of Christ.

The Roman Mass had supplanted the other Western liturgies except the Ambrosian rite in the Archdiocese of Milan, and the Mozárabic rite retained in a few churches in Spain. But it must be remembered that even in Rome itself there was no such thing as a purely Roman missal. Everywhere there were some traces of the impact of Irish and Gallic customs, such as the insertion of a memento of the dead at every Mass. There was also considerable variety in the preparatory prayers said at the altar steps, and at the offertory and the communion of the priest. This can be seen at once by comparing the Roman rite with that of Salisbury, which was that most widely used in England. Generally speaking, it may be said that the more elaborate, emotional, and scenic elements in public worship did not originate in Rome, but in France, Germany, and England.

In England a series of prayers especially intended for worshippers was provided in the *Lay Folk's Mass Book*. The original seems to have been composed in French by an Anglo-Norman of the twelfth century. The existing English translations are of various dates, and illustrate the difference between the more archaic form of Yorkshire English and the later Yorkshire and Midland English. The reader is bidden to say the *Pater noster* where nothing else is provided. There is a good paraphrase of the Creed, accurate enough except that 'the communion of saints' is misinterpreted as the 'housel' or sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood. Some of the prayers, in spite of the roughness of their metre, are of great beauty.

A few lines are here transcribed in a slightly modernized form. At the Offertory:

> Jesu, that wast in Bethlem bore,
> Three kings once kneeled Thee before,
> And offered gold, myrrh, and incense;
> Thou disdained not their presents,
> But didst guide them all the three
> Home again to their countree.
> So our offerings that we offer,
> And our prayers that we proffer,
> Take them, Lord, unto thy praise,
> And be our help through all our days.

At the time of the consecration the worshipper is to pray 'without dread', kneeling and holding up both his hands in the ancient form of supplication. He should pray in his own words, but if he cannot find words of his own then he may say:

> Loved be Thou, King,
> And blessed be Thou, King,
> For all thy gifts good,
> That for me spilt thy blood
> And died upon the rood.
> Thou give me grace to sing
> The song of thy loving.

The festival of Corpus Christi in honour of the sacrament of the altar appears to have first been observed at Liège in 1246. The fine service for the festival is the work of St. Thomas Aquinas. The practice of carrying the Eucharist in processions apparently dates from the eleventh century. It began as a part of the ritual for Palm Sunday, as is shown in the missals of Rouen and Hereford. It is also prescribed for that day in Lanfranc's statutes for Canterbury Cathedral. The rite known as Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, in which the sacrament is exposed on the altar in a monstrance for the veneration of the faithful was known in northern Germany at the beginning of the sixteenth century. In the north of Europe the sacrament was reserved for the sick in a vessel of precious metal suspended over the altar, or in a separate richly ornamented receptacle, which in Italy and in Scotland was usually made in the north wall of the sanctuary. The latter practice, and not the former,

is implied by canon law. In spite of much external devotion to the Eucharist, the practice of receiving the sacrament became less frequent. Probably it was never very frequent in England, for the Venerable Bede, in writing to Egbert, expresses his regret that the English do not follow the example of Rome, where multitudes communicated every Sunday. By the period of the Reformation it had become the ordinary practice, both in England and in Rome, to partake of the Holy Communion only once a year. By the end of the Middle Ages the chalice was not received by any but the priest who celebrated, and this rule applied almost everywhere to both clerical and lay assistants. The practice began in England about 1150, but only made way slowly. In Rome communion was still given in both kinds to communicants on certain occasions as late as the fifteenth century.

Any mention of the sacramental system as it existed during the later Middle Ages must comprise an account of the indulgences or 'pardons' granted to the faithful.

At an early period of Church history it was in the power of the bishops to remit some part of the public discipline required in the case of penitent offenders. Later, when the so-called 'Penitentials' were read and circulated, the severe penitential exercises enumerated in these books were sometimes modified or commuted. Fasting, for instance, was sometimes replaced by the recitation of psalms or the payment of a sum of money. Then came the indulgence strictly so-called. It was taught to be the remission of the temporal punishment due to sin, the guilt of which was removed by absolution.

The penitent was taught that though he was forgiven as Moses and David were forgiven, yet, like them, he must be prepared to suffer some temporal punishment. He must make amends to God, whose majesty had been outraged. If he did not pay to God this satisfaction while he lived, he must after death, before he entered heaven, pay it by suffering the torments of purgatory. It was the payment of an expiation by bitter suffering. But this awful punishment might be mitigated or escaped. The Church had an inexhaustible treasure, not only in the merits of Christ but also in the works which the saints

and the faithful have done over and above what was necessary for their salvation. Part of this overplus might be credited to the repentant sinner. At first these indulgences were only a partial remission of punishment; but as early as the end of the eleventh century Pope Urban II granted a plenary indulgence to all who took part in the crusade. And beginning at the year 1300 the popes gave plenary jubilee indulgences, first every hundred, then every fifty, and finally every twenty-five years. To gain such an indulgence it was necessary to confess one's sins and visit the basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul in Rome. In the fifteenth century this indulgence was extended to those who could not visit Rome in person, and in the same century it was decided that indulgences could be made applicable to souls already in purgatory. In 1476 Pope Sixtus IV wrote that if parents and friends who wished to help those who were exposed 'to the fire of purgatory for the expiation of sins' would pay 'a certain sum of money' for the repair of a church at Xanten, he willed that the money should avail *per modum suffragii* for the souls aforesaid. The donation was to be considered as a kind of recommendation to the Almighty for a plenary remission of punishment. This is the first known instance of an indulgence being applied to the souls in purgatory, and it speedily led to some of the worst scandals in Church history.

Even as early as the thirteenth century serious abuses arose from the practice of giving indulgences in return for a money payment, and long before the Reformation the 'pardoners' who distributed these indulgences were a favourite target for satirists. When money was needed for a charitable purpose, application was made to the Pope to grant an indulgence, and agents were employed to travel through the country, publish the indulgence, and solicit the alms of the faithful. Little or no care was taken in the selection of these agents, and so long as the money came in satisfactorily, the authorities were loath to scrutinize too narrowly the methods employed by their deputies. Grindal, in a sermon preached in 1564, when he was Bishop of London, says, 'Some redeemed for money great plenty of indulgences from Rome, and he that had the greatest plenty of them to be cast with him into his grave when he was buried (which I myself have seen done) was counted the best prepared for death'. This is no

stronger than what was said by the great Oxford chancellor Thomas Gascoigne, who about 1450 wrote, 'Sinners say nowadays, "I care not how many or how great sins I commit before God, for I most easily and quickly get plenary remission of any guilt or penalty whatever by absolution and indulgence granted to me from the Pope, whose writing and grant I have bought for 4*d*. or 6*d*. or for a game of tennis".'

The system of the seven sacraments embraced the life of man from the cradle to the grave, securing to man communion with God and with the unseen world. But it also bound together the two different forms of the Christian life, the life of the monk and the life of the Christian, whether clerical or lay, living in the world. In earlier times, especially in the East, there was a tendency towards a sharp and harmful separation between the life of the monk, the life in the desert or in the monastery, and the life of the city and the parish. There is some truth in the sarcastic remark of the Russian philosopher that, though the monk in the desert and the charioteer in the circus were both Orthodox, the first was a Monophysite and the second a Nestorian. In the Middle Ages monk and priest and layman were closely bound together by the same sacraments and to a considerable extent by the same worship. This worship was not only sacramental worship. The result of the monastic daily offices was that the secular priests had also their daily offices as a matter of strict obligation. And in England the laity, at least on Sundays, attended both Mattins and Evensong as well as Mass. To hear Mass and neglect Mattins was even regarded as a mark of Lollardy.

The greatest devotional masterpiece written in the Middle Ages is the book called the *Imitation of Christ*, written by Thomas a Kempis, who finished it in 1441. He was a member of the society called the Brethren of the Common Life, founded by Gerard Groot, a native of Deventer in Holland, in the preceding century. Gerard, when living a life of ease at Cologne, was converted by a devout Carthusian, and himself began to work as an itinerant preacher. Gerard was aided by Florentius Radewyn and the great Dutch mystic Ruysbroek. They founded

little societies of men who lived together, and observed the rules of poverty, chastity, and obedience, but were bound by no vow, so that any one might return to the world if he so desired. They supported themselves by their own hands, unlike the mendicant friars, who lived by the alms of the faithful. The first society was that founded at Windesheim near Deventer, and one of its many daughter societies was that of Mount St. Agnes, Agnetenberg, near Zwolle. All the houses were homes of quiet industry, and the brethren helped to teach in the town grammar schools. Thomas, who was born at Kempen near Krefeld, was taught by the brethren at Deventer, and, when his school days were over, was received at Mount St. Agnes, where he lived until the day of his death, July the 25th, 1471. He copied books, wrote little treatises, taught novices, and left behind him a convincing proof that the right way to help others to be good is to become a better man oneself. As the Order of the Brethren of the Common Life mainly supported themselves by the copying and sale of manuscripts, the invention of printing deprived them of their chief means of gaining a livelihood, and they did not survive the Reformation. But the religious spirit which created the Order should be reckoned among the greatest distinctions of Holland. It combined fervour with sobriety, the love of God with the service of man.

The *Imitation of Christ* is perhaps nearer to the Gospel and the First Epistle of St. John than any book written since the age of the apostles. From the beginning to the end it breathes with a manly love of Jesus Christ. The writer is a true mystic, who has learnt to see in everything 'a mirror of life'. Unlike the pseudo-mystic, he neither tries nor hopes to lose his own individuality, and in seeking for union with his Lord he knows that the worshipper can meet God only where God wills to meet him. Hence his love of the sacraments and his readiness to work and to suffer as though 'the trivial round, the common task' were themselves almost a sacrament of peace. He has no tricks of style, no subtilties, nothing but his certainty that the Catholic life is friendship with Jesus, and his power to exhort us to bear the cross with courage. No one who has read the book year by year has doubted that Thomas wrote the truth when he said, 'I had rather be poor for thy sake: than rich

without Thee.' And few who know it have failed to find in it a guide to that 'cloudless day of eternity, which no night obscures: whose never setting radiance is the supreme Truth; day ever joyful, ever secure.'

Whatever sanctity may be discovered in other lands, England presents us with two pictures of later medieval piety which are of the purest beauty. One is to be seen in the writings of the Lady Julian of Norwich, the other in Chaucer's description of the poor parson of a town parish.

Julian, who lived in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was a nun and anchorite who dwelt in a cell adjoining the church of Conisford near Norwich. With little learning derived from books, she possessed not only a deep religious and philosophical insight, but also strong ethical qualities and an exquisite literary taste. Her conviction that nature and grace are really at one brought with it both a keen hatred of evil and an abounding hopefulness. Julian is a true lover of God, and in her symbolism all that is best in human affection and loyalty is delicately reflected. The solitary nun has in her heart the love of mother and the love of child, the devotion of a faithful servant and of a valiant knight.

After Dante, Chaucer is the greatest of medieval poets. And in his supreme work he has given us a characterization of a parish priest which displays to us the qualities which the poet as a Christian and an Englishman admired in a shepherd of souls. The portrait is no doubt ideal, and it is deliberately introduced as a foil to the portraits of other and less worthy representatives of religion. But the 'povre Persoun of a toun' is no figment; he is a true man intelligible in his simple goodness, a goodness which is sometimes miscalled prosaic by those who are blind to the romance of common duties.

> But riche he was of holy thoght and werk,
> He was also a lerned man, a clerk,
> That Cristes gospel trewely wolde preche;
> His parisshens devoutly wolde he teche.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Wyd was his parisshe, and houses fer a-sonder
> But he ne lafte nat, for reyn ne thonder,

In siknes nor in meschief, to visyte,
The ferreste in his parisshe, muche and lyte,
Up-on his feet, and in his hand a staf.
This noble ensample to his sheep he yaf,
That first he wroghte, and afterward he taughte;
Out of the gospel he tho wordes caughte;
And this figure he added eek ther-to,
That if gold ruste, what shal iren do?

Chaucer's sporting monk who loved 'the newe world' and the friar who wantonly 'lipsed' his English, belong to the pageant of the past, 'the povre Persoun' is alive to-day.

XVII

SCHISMS AND REFORMS

'WE want a Roman, or anyhow an Italian.' So shouted the Roman mob, in their own dialect, as they surged over the piazza in front of the basilica of St. Peter, the ancient basilica of the Emperor Constantine. It was April the 7th, 1378, only a few days after the death of Pope Gregory XI, and this was the cry that greeted the cardinals as they arrived at the Vatican. The next day the door of the Vatican itself was forced by some of the bolder spirits from among the crowd. Their wish was fulfilled. The cardinals elected the Archbishop of Bari, Bartolomeo Prignano, who took the name of Urban VI. Having elected him, they accepted his pontifical acts as valid and his personal favours as their due.

Hard, sincere, and tactless to the verge of brutality, the new Italian Pope exasperated the cardinals by his rough efforts in the direction of reform. He persisted in spite of the warnings of St. Catherine of Siena, and the cardinals one by one pleaded ill-health and asked leave of absence. They speedily met at Anagni and conveniently remembered that though they had really elected the Pope, they had not acted freely but under the pressure of fear, fear of the Roman people. So on August the 9th, 1378, they proclaimed that the election of Urban VI was null and void, and that the apostolic see was vacant. The next month they elected Cardinal Robert of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII and went to reside at Avignon. In the meantime Urban remained in Rome, appointed twenty-six new cardinals and excommunicated his rival. A double papacy was the result. Thus was consummated the Great Schism which divided Western Christendom for some fifty years. On the side of Clement VII were France, Scotland, Spain, and southern Italy; on the side of Urban VI were England, Hungary, Poland, the greater part of Germany, and the Scandinavian countries.

Clement VII was young, aristocratic, ardent. He was fired with the hope of taking Rome from his rival. In this hope he drew to his side Louis, Duke of Anjou, offering him as a bait a new kingdom to be carved out of the States of the Church.

Military expeditions in Italy were the result, expeditions which cost Louis his life and Clement vast sums of money. Costly wars, together with costly embassies and princely habits, did little to strengthen his authority, and they led men to blame him for the schism which he declined to discuss before a General Council. In the meantime Urban VI, by his unscrupulous nepotism and violent self-will, undermined his position in Rome. He deposed Joanna of Naples and gave her kingdom to Charles of Durazzo, who rewarded him by interning him at Nocera. Urban escaped to Genoa and put to death several cardinals whom he suspected of conspiring against him.

Could either of these popes be the real father of the faithful, the vice-regent of Jesus Christ? Even cardinals were puzzled. And some of the most serious and learned men, like Peter d'Ailly and John Gerson, asked whether the subordination of the Church to the Pope was not something contingent upon historical circumstances only, and whether authority in religion did not rest upon a wider and more solid basis, the infallibility of the whole body of the faithful represented in a Council. So we find two different means proposed for extricating the Church from its difficulties. The first was to compel one pope, or both popes, to resign. The second was to call a Council.

It was while such questions were agitating men's minds, and the two rival popes were belabouring each other 'with apostolic blows and knocks', that there died John Wycliffe[1] (1320–1384). Master of 'le Balliol halle', Oxford, in 1360, he became a Doctor of Theology in 1372, and in 1374 he went to Bruges to discuss with the Pope's envoys some differences about ecclesiastical appointments. On his return to England he disputed the justice of the Pope's demand for the tribute promised by King John. He urged that the king held his dominion directly from Christ and that the Pope had no claim to it. He expounded his doctrine of the Church in numerous writings, including two treatises, the *de Ecclesia Christi* and the *Dialogus sive speculum ecclesiae militantis*. He upheld St. Augustine's doctrine of

[1] The reformer was a native of the village of Wycliffe in Yorkshire. His own family appears never to have become Protestant, and the village has remained to this day a little centre of English Roman Catholicism.

predestination, and on that doctrine attempted to build a great theory of the Church, the most elaborate theory then opposed to the Catholic doctrine. The Church is the society of the predestined of which Christ is the head, the Pope is only the head of the Church militant if he is predestined. It is possible to know whether a man is predestined by his obedience to the law of God, and the law of God is to be found in the Gospel. Hence it is of the utmost necessity that all, both priests and laymen, should study the Bible. According to his later and more developed doctrine, it would be better for the Church to have no Pope, for the Pope is the vicar not of Christ but of Antichrist. He is 'the man of sin'. He ought to have no temporal power, for Christ has given all temporal power to Caesar. Ordination confers no indelible character: a priest who is fallen into mortal sin cannot dispense true sacraments. He also taught that a verbal confession of sins should be optional, and he opposed indulgences. He denounced the cultus of the saints, though not the cultus of the Blessed Virgin—'Worship we Jesus and Mary with all our might'. He denied the doctrine of transubstantiation while strongly asserting the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament and blaming those who held that a priest might be excused from saying Mass, which God himself commanded, and not excused from saying Mattins and Evensong. His most fixed principles were his belief in nationalism and regal supremacy, his opposition to ecclesiastical endowments, and, above all, his belief in the supreme authority of the Bible.

Pope Gregory XI was much disturbed by the teaching of Wycliffe, and at this point becomes of considerable importance for the history of religion in England. In the spring of 1377 he issued three bulls which were directed against Wycliffe's teaching. One accuses him of holding the errors of Marsilius of Padua and John of Jandun, and calls upon the Chancellor and the University of Oxford to arrest the heretic. A second summons him to appear in person before the Pope. A third directs the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London to examine him themselves. These contradictory bulls were probably intended to allow the English prelates to take any means of suppressing Wycliffe which they considered most efficient. They were also a deliberate attempt, an attempt

which failed, to introduce into England the papal inquisition. The influence which Wycliffe had acquired is proved by the fact that some time after the bulls must have arrived in England, he was formally consulted by the king's advisers and by Parliament as to whether they might lawfully prevent money going out of the kingdom to foreign and non-resident holders of English benefices. He replied boldly in the affirmative. When Parliament was dissolved, Oxford received the papal bull. Wycliffe was then merely required to confine himself to Black Hall. The theologians, on the whole, took his part. The Chancellor and doctors affirmed that his conclusions were true, although they 'sounded ill in the ears of their hearers', a phrase in which moderation seems to be tempered with ambiguity.[1]

To Wycliffe and his friends must be given the credit of first publishing, between 1380 and 1384, the whole Bible in the English tongue. The Anglo-Saxon Gospels were no longer intelligible and the Anglo-French version of the Bible was read by few, for Anglo-French was dying. By appealing to the Bible and by inspiring other men to translate it, Wycliffe performed a work of great and permanent importance. It may be doubted whether he had the saint's hatred of sin and passion for souls. He had nothing of the mystical and lyrical spirit of his older contemporary, Richard Rolle, another Yorkshireman, who translated the Psalms and found 'joy in God'. Wycliffe's polemic was too negative and his ecclesiastical polity was too Erastian. But he was as fearless as he was earnest, he was eminent in learning and filled with sympathy for the oppressed. In the England of his age he stands alone as theologian, preacher, and politician, and after his age his influence was a force in England and beyond.

The Hussite movement in Bohemia was a result of Wycliffe's influence in Oxford.

In the fourteenth century Bohemia, to some extent in consequence of the infiltration of German settlers, made a very marked progress in political and intellectual development. This

[1] The name Lollard, which was given to the followers of Wycliffe, is sometimes derived from the word *lolium*, tares. But it is more probable that it comes from *lollen* or *lullen*, to sing softly (cf. lullaby). The name was applied to sectaries in the Netherlands before Wycliffe's time.

development was aided by King Charles (1346–1378) and his son Wenzel (1378–1419). In 1344 Prague was made an archbishopric and separated from Mainz, and four years later the University of Prague was founded. An increased patriotism and a desire to promote reforms in the Church accompanied this new state of affairs. Some tentative efforts had been made earlier, but the movement definitely began about 1401, when Wycliffe's theological works were brought to Prague by Jerome of Prague, who had been a student in Oxford. His philosophical works had been studied earlier. Both Wycliffe's philosophy and his theology stirred the mind of John Hus, a Master of Arts, who preached in Czech in the Bethlehem chapel at Prague and was confessor of Queen Sophia of Bohemia. He soon became an intellectual leader of the Czechs. His archbishop, Sbynko, appointed him with others to investigate a pretended miracle at Wilsnack. He proved that the miracle was a fraud, and pilgrimages to Wilsnack were forbidden by the archbishop. But about 1408 clouds began to thicken over the head of Hus. Wenzel altered the constitution of the university, and the German members withdrew from it and founded the University of Leipzig. The University of Prague was now purely Slav, and Hus was its rector. But the archbishop, drawn into the quarrel between the rival claimants to the papal throne, and in obedience to a papal bull, burnt Wycliffe's books, and in 1411 put Hus under a ban. Nevertheless he became reconciled to Hus. It was Pope John XXIII who made the real break between Rome and the Hussite party. In 1412 he caused an indulgence to be preached in Bohemia for a crusade against Ladislaus of Naples, who was a powerful supporter of the rival Pope, Gregory XII. Hus and his friend Jerome of Prague wrote and spoke against this indulgence with such effect that the populace fastened the Pope's bull on the breast of a prostitute and led her through the city in contempt of Rome, 'the mother of harlots'. Hus and his followers were then excommunicated and every place in which he resided was put under an interdict. He left Prague and lived with various noble patrons, writing vigorously in Latin and Czech.

The death of Pope Urban VI, in 1389, was followed by that of Clement VII in 1394. In the see of Rome Urban was followed by

Boniface IX, Innocent VII, and then Gregory XII, who resigned in 1415. The first was poorly educated but a man of good character, except in his propensity for favouring his family and selling offices. Innocent VII had a wide knowledge of canon and civil law. In 1404 he issued a summons for the meeting of a General Council. It was hardly his fault that the Council did not meet. His nephew murdered certain prominent Romans and thereby so infuriated the people that the Pope had to flee to Viterbo and did not receive the submission of his subjects until a short time before his death. Gregory XII, a weak old man who had been Latin patriarch of Constantinople, was elected on condition that if the antipope at Avignon should resign, he should do the same and thereby end the schism.

But the antipope at Avignon was Benedict XIII, who remained inflexibly opposed to the Roman popes. He was an Aragonese, dignified, astute, and energetic. His claims were defended by persons whom Rome regards as models of holiness, such as St. Vincent Ferrer, the missionary, St. Colette, the reformer of a Franciscan religious order, and the Blessed Peter of Luxemburg, an ascetic young cardinal at whose tomb the people of Avignon prayed and sought for miracles. Two Councils held at Paris insisted that Benedict XIII should resign, and in 1398 a third Council detached France from his obedience. Western Christianity was now divided into three branches, the party of Rome, the party of Avignon, and the party of France, which dispensed with the papacy and maintained that as the Pope had only received his power in order to edify the Church, he ought not to be obeyed when he destroyed it. Benedict, however, promised in 1404 that he would abdicate if his rival died or abdicated, and for a time secured obedience in France. His rival, Boniface IX, died soon afterwards, but Benedict XIII gripped his tiara with the same tenacity as before. His falsehood, and the heavy taxes which he levied in France, caused a fourth Council to be held at Paris in 1406. He was denounced as a perjurer and a schismatic, the doctrine that a pope is subject to the Church grew more and more popular, and a bull from Benedict XIII was torn in pieces by the University of Paris.

In the meantime the cardinals of both parties felt it their duty

to grasp the helm of the Church. With the approval of the Universities of Oxford, Paris, and Bologna they determined to convoke a General Council, holding that the Church must have a natural and divine right to find within itself the means of reconstituting its unity. The result was the opening of a Council at Pisa in March 1409. It was convoked by the cardinals alone in spite of the formal opposition of both popes, Benedict XIII and Gregory XII. Scotland, Spain, and parts of Germany and Italy were unrepresented at the Council. The two popes were both deposed as heretics, and under the influence of Cardinal Balthazar Cossa a third pope was chosen. He took the name of Alexander V, but died the next year, urging upon the cardinals the duty of concord. They then elected Balthazar Cossa himself, who took the name of John XXIII. The sincere Christian might well ask, 'Where is the Vicar of Christ?' If he were a Frenchman he would have had to reply to himself that in the thirty-one years from 1378 to 1409 the Vicar of Christ had for two short periods been at Avignon, that for two other short periods he had been nowhere, and that he was now to be found at Pisa. The marvel is, not that there was so much rebellion against Christian law and order, but that so much fervent Christian piety survived.

As for John XXIII, it was notorious that he was no model of a Christian pontiff, and the two other popes could not be expected to efface themselves at his command. Let all three abdicate, was the cry of the wise and far-sighted d'Ailly. So John was obliged to appeal to the Emperor Sigismund for help, and to consent to his proposal to summon a General Council. The Council met on November the 1st, 1414, at Constance. The party of reform was led by d'Ailly, Gerson, who was the delegate of the University of Paris, and Zabarella, legate of John XXIII, all illustrious, pious, and imbued with the conviction that a Council has higher authority than a pope. They soon came into conflict with John through their unwillingness to ratify the deposition of his two rivals, as decreed at Pisa, an action which might seem to question the plenary authority of the Pisan Council. John fled to Schaffhausen in disguise and thus left the field clear for the Council to assert its own authority. It did so in the vital words, maintained by many in the com-

munion of Rome until 1870: 'The Council of Constance, legitimately assembled in the Holy Spirit, forming a General Council and representing the Catholic Church Militant, holds its authority immediately from Christ, and every one, of whatever state or dignity, even the papal, is bound to obey it in what concerns the faith, the extirpation of schism, and the reformation of the Church in its head and in its members.'

Pope John XXIII had departed from Constance a few days before this memorable decision had been formulated. The two other members of the so-called 'abominable trinity' wanted to retain their office for some time longer. But Gregory XII, the Roman Pope, resigned in July 1415, and in 1417 Benedict XIII was deposed and retired to Spain. In November 1417 the Council elected a new Pope, Otto Colonna, who took the name of Martin V. The Council continued its sittings until April 1418. During this time there appeared to be considerable danger of the papal monarchy being replaced by a kind of intellectual republic, for not only the popes but also the bishops were thrown into the shade by theologians from the leading universities. Seven decrees of reform were promulgated, and concordats made with the Germans, the English, and the three Latin nations.

The name of the Council of Constance is for ever blackened by its treatment of John Hus.

Bohemia was seething with agitation against the papacy, and the Emperor Sigismund summoned Hus to attend the Council, promising him a safe-conduct. Hus reached Constance on November the 3rd, 1414, and was thrown into prison three weeks later. Sigismund was told that, as Hus was arraigned as a heretic before a General Council, it was beyond the authority of the civil power to protect him. Hus was imprisoned for seven months and frequently examined as to his opinions. He steadily repudiated the heretical propositions which had been extracted from Wycliffe's writings and had already been condemned by the University of Prague. He behaved with gentleness and courage. His trial lasted three days, and judgement was pronounced against him in Constance cathedral July the 6th, 1415. A bishop preached on Rom. vi. 6 and, addressing Sigismund, said, 'By

destroying this heretic thou shalt obtain an undying name to all ensuing generations'. Seven bishops dressed Hus in priestly vestments, of which they then stripped him. They put on him a tall hat painted with devils and said, 'We give thy soul to the devil'. Hus replied, 'I commend it into the hands of our Saviour Jesus Christ'. He was burnt the same day. His friend Jerome of Prague suffered at the stake with equal courage on May the 30th, 1416.

It cannot be doubted that Hus died as a martyr both to Slavdom and to reform. German national feeling was enraged by his devotion to Bohemian interests and his opposition to the philosophy which was then in vogue among the Germans. And on the other hand the papal party were indignant at his opposition to indulgences and his teaching that originally the Bishop of Rome was no more than other bishops, and that Christ is the only head of His Church. He upheld the doctrine of transubstantiation and was inclined to favour the practice of communion in one kind. Like the French Waldensians, he did not hold that the sacraments were invalid if administered by an unworthy priest. Though a less subtle theologian than Wycliffe he was more safe, and he deserves far more admiration than most of the reformers of the next century.

After the death of Hus the Bohemian reformers became divided into two parties. The first was that of the Taborites, a violent and democratic party which opposed all peace with Rome. The second was that of the Calixtines, a more aristocratic party led by Rokyczan of Prague. They declared that they would be satisfied with four reforms, one of which was the restoration of the chalice (*calix*) to the laity. The Council of Basel, in 1433, granted these reforms, though with certain restrictions, and the majority of the Calixtines then became reconciled with Rome. They became known as the Utraquists, because they received the Eucharist in both kinds (*sub utraque specie*).

The later history of the Hussites is extremely complicated and interwoven with that of the Waldensians and other religious sects. They were involved in internecine wars, and the Taborites were heavily defeated by the Utraquists at Lipan in 1434. King George Podjebrad (d. 1471) and King Wladislaw II were

both in favour of Church unity, and for some time the Utraquist Church and that of the more distinctly Latin rite existed side by side. Many others, including Rokyczan, now Archbishop-elect of Prague (d. 1471), were not satisfied with such a compromise, and were in favour of a separation of Church and State. They were led by a layman, Peter of Chelčic, and about 1453 called themselves 'The Union of Brethren' (*Unitas fratrum*) or 'The Bohemian Brethren'. They were allowed by Podjebrad to settle in a deserted village, Kunwald, in the barony of Senftenberg, and found a teacher in Michael of Bradacz, the local priest. In 1467, at a synod held at Lhotka, they definitely separated from the national Church, and Michael was consecrated bishop by a Waldensian bishop named Stephen. For some time their faith and practice seem to have been essentially Catholic. But a younger, less Catholic party arose under the leadership of Luke of Prague, and in 1494 a synod at Reichenau rejected the authority of Peter of Chelčic and adopted a more Protestant position, making the Bible their only standard and affirming a merely symbolic doctrine of the Eucharist. In spite of their divisions they spread rapidly. Early in the sixteenth century they possessed hundreds of churches in Bohemia and Moravia. On the appearance of Luther they approached him with a view to union. He objected to the value which they attached to episcopacy and celibacy, and also to their denial of the Real Presence. They objected to his one-sided view of justification and his antinomian idea of freedom. The two parties at last came to an agreement in 1542, and the 'Bohemian' or 'Moravian' Brethren became gradually infected with Lutheran views, and even with those of the Calvinists. Their literary achievements were remarkable, and their translation of the Bible into Czech was almost as influential in shaping that language as Luther's translation was in influencing the language of Germany. The persecution of the Moravians, which was one of the results of the Counter-Reformation, and their revival in the eighteenth century, fall outside the scope of the present volume.

According to the decisions reached at Constance, a General Council should have met in 1423. This was not possible, but such a Council met at Basel in December 1431. It was occupied

with a prolonged theological struggle with the new Pope, Eugenius IV (1431–1447). He attempted to dissolve the Council; but the Fathers refused to be dissolved, renewed the decrees of Constance as to the supremacy of a General Council, and passed several practical reforms. At the end of 1433 the Pope gave way; he annulled his previous dissolution and formally recognized the Council of Basel as a General Council. Differences broke out anew, and in 1439 the Council made the mistake of electing an antipope, Felix V. The latter gained very little support outside Savoy. He soon abdicated, and he died with a reputation for his piety. He was the last antipope. Before Eugenius was deposed and supplanted he had ordered the transference of the Council to Ferrara. His followers met there early in 1438 and concerned themselves with the urgent question of reunion with the Greek Church, Greeks and Latins keenly discussing the points of difference, especially the *Filioque* clause in the Nicene Creed. The next year their deliberations were continued at the celebrated Council of Florence, where the walls of division between the two Churches were apparently broken.

In the train of the Greek emperor there came to this Council of Reunion two notable Eastern metropolitans, Isidore of Kiev and Bessarion of Nicaea. It was agreed that it was true to say either that the Holy Spirit proceeds 'from the Father and the Son' or that He proceeds 'from the Father through the Son'. Both parties had the sense to see that it did not matter whether leavened or unleavened bread was used in the liturgy. And the Easterns, knowing that the Turks were almost at their doors, and hoping for Western help, admitted that the Pope was 'the Vicar of Christ, Shepherd, and Teacher of all Christians to guide and rule the whole Church of God', but added the ambiguous clause 'without prejudice to the rights and privileges of the other Patriarchs'. The only Oriental bishop who refused to sign was Mark of Ephesus.

Officially the union was complete. But Mark was regarded in the East as a hero, and in 1472, when Constantinople was a Turkish city, a synod at Constantinople rejected the Council of Florence with anathemas. And when Isidore appeared again in Moscow, Basil III interned him in a monastery. The Pope

then nominated Isidore's friend Gregory as 'Uniate' Archbishop of Kiev, a city which was still within the borders of Lithuania and therefore under Latin influence. The Russians retorted by raising an 'Orthodox' prelate, Jonas, to the metropolitan see of Moscow. The difficulty was resolved in 1470, when Gregory himself renounced his Uniate status and was accepted as Orthodox metropolitan of Kiev. The successors of Jonas were content to be called 'metropolitans of Moscow and all Russia', and a double line of metropolitans, of Moscow and Kiev, respectively, lasted until 1589.

Before the Council of Basel had finished its prolonged sittings, Charles VII, King of France, resolved to commence the reform of the Church himself. He called together at Bourges, in 1438, the bishops of France and the members of his Council to consider the decrees of Basel which limited the power of the Pope, particularly in matters of finance, and the relation of the Pope to the Council. The result was the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, which suppressed the payment of annates and other exactions and deprived the Pope of the power of nominating to vacant bishoprics. It became a foundation-stone of the liberties of the Gallican Church. It remained in force until 1516, when Francis I and Pope Leo X signed the Concordat of Bologna, a concordat which restored annates to the Pope but secured important rights for the Crown.

The second half of the fifteenth century is a time of transition, and its great attraction lies in the fact that we can see its twofold character, which alternately faces the past and the future. Religion is still medieval, but there are signs which point to both the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation. The conciliar movement failed; the work done at Constance and Basel did not alter Rome. Papalism defeated Episcopalianism. The assertion of the Pope's primacy at Florence counterbalanced the efforts of bishops and theologians, and in 1460 Pope Pius II, in his bull *Exsecrabilis*, forbade an appeal from the Pope to a General Council. But the movement left its mark on history, and the desire for reformation was not extinguished. The Catholic sovereigns, though unwilling to proceed very far in the work of decentralizing religious authority, were deter-

mined to claim in ecclesiastical affairs the rights which their predecessors had exercised before the medieval papacy had matured. Moreover, the movement had been supported by men of rare ability, deeply persuaded that the authority of the Church resided in the consciousness of the whole body. The two words *Council* and *Reform* remained wedded together, a double-edged weapon against the papacy, and the outward expression of a moral discontent. We can understand why Luther appealed to a General Council, and why his contemporary Pope Clement VII dreaded the very name of it.

It was at this period of change that the idea of a Western 'Roman' empire declined; the last 'Roman emperor', Frederic III, was crowned in Rome in 1452. The Eastern 'Roman' empire fell for ever when the Turkish sultan, Muḥammad the Conqueror, took Constantinople in 1453 and rode on horseback into Justinian's peerless church of St. Sophia. But a new empire was won for Christendom when America was discovered, and when the Spaniards took Granada from the Muslim Moors in 1492. Spain was marked out to be the homeland of the new Catholicism of future generations.

XVIII

THE RENAISSANCE AND RELIGION

THE Popes who reigned from 1447 to 1521 were humanists. They favoured with all their power the Renaissance of letters and the arts. The Renaissance was a new birth, a second spring, of Greek and Roman antiquity. Its origin can be found in the Middle Ages and its birthplace was Italy, where classical art had enjoyed a national home. In the fourteenth century it began to find expression in the poems of Petrarch, who lived in Avignon and Padua, and in the tales of Boccaccio, who lived in Florence. In the next century it was stimulated by the revived knowledge of Greek fostered in Florence by the Byzantine Manuel Chrysoloras and a group of scholars such as Bruni, Poggio, and Laurentius Valla, who finally demolished the Forged Decretals and the Donation of Constantine. In Italy learning became a passion with all classes of society. Florence was the first centre of culture, and was adorned by the splendid artistic work of Brunelleschi, Donatello, and Ghiberti. Milan, Naples, and Ferrara soon joined in the enthusiastic worship of the antique; and at the beginning of the sixteenth century Rome had become the artistic capital of Italy, sought by painters, sculptors, and architects, who left it to carry a new message to the rest of Europe. They went not only to Paris and Madrid; their work can be traced in Westminster and Moscow.

A Christian historian of the fifth century remarks that 'the beautiful, wherever it may be, is the property of the truth'. And it was possible for keen humanists to be devout Christians. But the assertion that man has a right to enjoy the world led to a selfish abuse of that right, the passion for study led to a pedantic imitation of the writings of classical authors, and the spirit of criticism led to the rejection of much that was permanently valuable in medieval life. An outward conformity with Christianity was accompanied by the parade of a self-conscious paganism. The moral corruption of Italy was profound, and Rome was defiled by an unabashed surrender to the worst vices of antiquity.

Behind these splendours and these vices there loomed the

growing terror inspired by the Turks, and the Popes of the Renaissance must be considered not only in relation to learning and the religious welfare of the Church, but also in relation to the Muslim peril which they endeavoured to avert.

Nicholas V (1447–1455) was a marvel of classical scholarship and the founder of the famous Vatican library. He has been called the Father of Humanism, and he was devoted to books and building. But his secretaries worked more for the library than for the Church, and among them was the obscene writer Poggio. The Jubilee held in Rome in 1450 attracted vast crowds of pilgrims. The result was a pestilence which filled the churches and hospitals and the roads to Rome with dead and dying people. In 1453 the plot of a young nobleman to seize and kill the Pope, and the news of the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, shattered the old man's health, and he died in March 1455. He was not wholly blind to the interests of Christendom. He confided to Nicholas of Cusa the reform of abuses among the priests and monks of Germany, to Cardinal William d'Estouteville the reform of schools and colleges in France, and he favoured the preaching missions of the Franciscan St. John of Capistrano in Germany, Italy, and Poland. Nicholas was polished and gracious in his manners, he improved the secular government of Rome and the Papal States, and his grandiose schemes for rebuilding St. Peter's and the walls and churches of Rome were less the result of personal pride than the desire to restore the diminished prestige of the papacy itself.

Calixtus III (1455–1458) had been the Spanish cardinal, Alfonso Borgia. The Spaniards have a cynical proverb concerning nephews, and the nephews to whom the new Pope was so devoted did their uncle little credit. One of them whom he brought to Rome was Rodrigo, afterwards the infamous Pope Alexander VI. But his love for his nephews was equalled by his hatred of the Turks. He took an oath that, if necessary, he would shed his blood to free Constantinople from their sway, and he sold many of his possessions in order to equip a fleet for that purpose. But he appealed in vain to the princes of Christendom to join in a crusade. England and France, Germany, Norway, Denmark, and Portugal were deaf to his

summons. Only Hungary, with the wolf at her door, provided the right man for the moment. That man was Hunyadi János.

Hunyadi several years earlier had inflicted more than one disaster upon the Turkish army. He had, since 1440, borne the burden of defending the life of Christendom, and he was ready to meet Muḥammad II even when the Turk was flushed with the conquest of Constantinople. The Turk intended to take Hungary and to capture the Serbian capital Belgrad as holding the key to Hungary. Hunyadi, deserted by the other Magyar nobles, had no efficient helper except St. John of Capistrano, whose fervid eloquence stirred yeomen and peasants to rally to his support. At his own expense Hunyadi armed and victualled the fortress of Belgrad, and on July the 14th, 1456, his flotilla destroyed the Turkish fleet. A week later, after a desperate fight, Hunyadi captured the Turkish camp, and the defeated sultan retreated to Constantinople. In 1459 Serbia, which had never recovered from her dearly bought defeat at Kossovo in 1389, became a Turkish pashalik directly under the Porte. But Hungary was secure from the invader until 1526, when the Sultan Suleiman laid waste one-fourth of the country. Hunyadi's integrity, unselfishness, statecraft, and heroism entitle him to one of the highest places in the history of Christian chivalry, and his death from the plague only three weeks after his splendid victory was a tragic end to a career of tragic achievement. He was soon followed to the tomb by John of Capistrano; Scanderbeg, the Albanian who rivalled his exploits, was betrayed by his own nephew; and Pope Calixtus III died on the day that the Turks captured Corinth.

Pius II (1458–1464) was Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who took the name of Pius, not without an allusion to the 'pius Aeneas' of Vergil. He was a diplomat and a humanist. He wrote a novel and a play, and certain 'Commentaries' which contain a frank account of his own life and times. But he showed more reserve in granting favours to other humanists than they had anticipated. He faced the world with the maxim, 'Aeneam reiicite, Pium recipite'.

He was involved in a prolonged quarrel with George

Podjebrad, King of Bohemia, refusing categorically to sanction Holy Communion in both kinds, the necessity of which George vigorously asserted. This quarrel, and the political complications which it involved, hindered the progress of the Pope's plans for a crusade. But in spite of undisguised opposition or coldness in every quarter, the Pope declared that he would put himself at the head of an expedition against the Turks. After a pilgrimage to Assisi he went to Ancona and waited for the fleet due to arrive from Venice. Twelve galleys arrived on August the 12th, 1464, and received his blessing. Three days later the frail pontiff died.

Paul II (1464–1471) was free from the guilt of nepotism and was a man of dignity and courage. He was a friend of learning, and made a fine collection of antiquities. But he was slandered as illiterate and as an enemy of humanism because he suppressed the so-called 'Roman academy', a club which professed to revive the worship of the pagan gods. Its head was 'Pomponius Laetus', a bastard whose real name was Giulio Bernardino, and from its members the College of Abbreviators of the Chancery was recruited. Paul II suppressed the college. He also pronounced the deposition of George Podjebrad, who had openly favoured the extreme Hussite opinions of Rokyczan, including Anabaptism and consubstantiation.

Sixtus IV (1471–1484), an eloquent Franciscan who had never known the use of money, gave money away as long as he had any to give. He heaped favours upon unworthy relatives, and for their sake he concentrated his attention upon Italian politics, with inglorious results. His own life was strict and simple, he built a foundling hospital and gave privileges to the mendicant orders. He intervened in the affairs of the Spanish Inquisition, trying to check the misuse of its powers in the interest of party politics or royal authority. But Sixtus IV is chiefly remembered for his patronage of the fine arts. He built the Sistine chapel in Rome, and favoured great artists such as Ghirlandajo, Botticelli, and Perugino. He weakly introduced unworthy persons into the college of cardinals, and thereby prepared the way for the further degradation of the papacy.

Innocent VIII (1484–1492) was a man whose morals were the subject of a Roman jest. The great Sultan Muḥammad II had

died in 1481. His sons Bayazid and Jem disputed for the throne. Bayazid proved the winner, and committed his brother to the keeping of the Knights of St. John in Rhodes, the Grand Master transferred him to the Pope, and Bayazid, in return for this custody of his brother, promised the Pope perpetual peace and 40,000 ducats a year.

Alexander VI (1492–1503) a nephew of Calixtus III, purchased the papal throne by bribing his colleagues. His pontificate was one of unequalled infamy. He threw decorum to the winds, and his only serious interest was in his children. His favourite son, Giovanni, was murdered, probably by his second son, Cesare: both were cardinals. The Pope's daughter Lucrezia was left in charge of the 'apostolic palace' when the Pope was absent from Rome. He intrigued with the sultan against the King of France, and in 1493 he presented Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain with all islands and continents lying beyond a line of demarcation drawn from the North to the South Pole. Jem the Turk was one of the Pope's boon companions.

Of the seven pontiffs whose reign has been briefly sketched above, there was not one, with the exception of Paul II, who had the irreproachable character and the strength of will required in their high position. Rome was dissolute and cruel, men conformed and disbelieved, and even Italy was shocked by the court of Alexander VI, its simony, murders, and indescribable vices.

In spite of the orgies of the Vatican, religion was not dead in Italy. There were occasional feverish revivals in cities and villages, gusts of penitence and attempts to propitiate God with fasts and litanies and processions. Foremost in preaching these revivals were the friars of the reformed mendicant orders. Of these we have as an example the work of St. Bernardino (d. 1444). He was noted for his devotion to the holy name of Jesus; and while believing in papal infallibility, he adhered to the view of some of the Fathers that 'the rock' mentioned by Christ in his promise to St. Peter, was Christ himself.

Above all the preachers of repentance was Girolamo Savonarola, prior of the reformed Dominican convent of St. Mark, Florence. There, and later in the vast and sombre Duomo of

Florence, he preached to multitudes with a fiery and lucid eloquence which seemed a miracle in one so feeble and so overstrained. The people listened with terror and sobbed aloud. He laid bare every abuse and every vice. He spoke like a prophet; he saw farther than other men because he saw deeper. Convinced that God's judgement would fall on Italy for her wickedness, he said that it would come soon and that the Church would then be renewed. His spiritual dictatorship began in 1490, when he set himself in opposition to Lorenzo de' Medici, who, in spite of his opposition, said that he was the only honest friar that he knew, and sent for him when he was on his death-bed. Savonarola left him unabsolved, and became the champion of republican doctrines in the pulpit. A wave of fierce austerity came over Florence, laws were remodelled, many abolished, and in the carnival of 1497 a huge bonfire was made of lascivious pictures, lutes, harps, and cosmetics, which were burnt amid shouts of triumph. The same year Alexander VI, whose vices he had lashed, and who had vainly tried to bribe him with a cardinal's hat, excommunicated Savonarola. He had made many enemies, and in March 1498 the Signory, the supreme executive of Florence, besought him to suspend his preaching. Certain Franciscans provoked him to an ordeal by fire. Their own champions withdrew from the trial and the ordeal never took place. The populace were filled with rage, not against the Franciscans, but against Savonarola, who was imprisoned and then tortured. On May the 23rd he was hanged, his body was burnt, and his ashes were thrown into the Arno. His last words were: 'The Lord has suffered as much for me.'

Hardly had his ashes been borne away by the river, when the fickle Florentines recognized that they had killed a prophet and a saint, and Savonarola almost attained the dubious honour of being canonized by a Pope of the period.

Alexander VI was followed by Pius III, who died within a month, and the two last Popes of the Renaissance were Julius II and Leo X.

Julius II (1503–1513) had little of the priest about him. He was a lover of art and patronized Bramante, Raphael, and Michelangelo. He was an able ruler and diplomat, but he was

essentially a man of war, and was said to have chosen the name Julius in memory of Julius Caesar. He beat Venice with the help of France and Germany, and then with Venice and Spain drove the French from Italy. Louis XII of France convened a French Council which renewed the Pragmatic Sanction (see p. 223), and with the co-operation of Germany convened a General Council at Pisa. The Pope put Pisa under an interdict, the Council was a failure, and the Pope summoned another Council at the Lateran. It is reckoned by Rome as the eighteenth Oecumenical Council. Only fifty-six bishops were present, and among the few archbishops was Christopher Bainbridge, Archbishop of York, who was poisoned and found a burial-place in Rome. A concordat was made with the Emperor Maximilian and some serious grievances in Germany were redressed.

Leo X (1513–1521), son of Lorenzo de' Medici, was the last and greatest of the Popes of the Renaissance. Like his predecessor, he was an enthusiastic patron of art, and he furthered the erection of St. Peter's which had been begun by Julius II and was destined to cost Rome the price of the Reformation. His dealings with France were of political and ecclesiastical importance. Louis XII, who was hard pressed by Henry VIII of England, had decided to recognize the recent Lateran Council. His successor, Francis I, gained a brilliant victory over the Swiss at Marignano, securing the great duchy of Milan for himself. Rome was in a state of consternation when the news of this victory arrived, and Leo was obliged to make a treaty with the victor. The Pope succeeded in obtaining an abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges of A.D. 1438, which had proclaimed the 'conciliar theory' of Church government. But in return the right of the king to nominate to the eighty-three sees of France and five hundred and twenty-seven abbacies was assured, the Pope reserving the power of confirming the elections. The arrangement was ratified in the bull *Primitiva illa ecclesia* of 1516. It had the serious result of widening the difference between the two classes of French ecclesiastics, the rich and aristocratic higher clergy who depended upon the king, and the poorer priests who represented the mind of the people and, to a considerable extent, the spirit of the

universities. The Pope took an interest in the welfare of the great religious orders, but he was singularly blind to the need of reform in the Church as a whole. Kindly and courtly, devoted to learning and equally devoted to luxury, he was not an unbeliever. His moral weakness consisted in his worldliness, his passion for getting and spending money and his inability to realize 'the high calling of God'. His encounter with Luther falls outside the scope of this volume.

When the French entered Italy, Italy began to conquer France and bind her with silken cords. The French began to find Italy delightful, and the French temperament began to change under this refining influence. The secular spirit of the Renaissance attracted the wealthy classes, ecclesiastical literature declined, elegant castles were more often built than stately churches, and the patrons of art before long preferred mythological nudities to representations of the saints.

Nevertheless, this humanism was more often allied in France with Christian faith than it was in Italy. A desire for the reformation of the Church by the Church was the ideal of some noble souls. Among them the most influential was Lefèvre d'Etaples, *Faber Stapulensis*, a native of Picardy (d. 1540). He was a doctor of the Sorbonne and numbered among his pupils the Orientalists Vatable and Postel, Budé, a man of vast learning, and Farel, who became a Protestant leader. Among his works was a commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul written in 1512, and a critical work which maintained that there are in the New Testament three different Maries who are combined in the current ecclesiastical tradition concerning Mary Magdalene. He makes a strong moral appeal to return to Christ and His apostles, and insists upon divine grace as the only means of salvation. His influence was greatly strengthened by the support of a bishop and a princess of the blood royal.

In 1516 William Briçonnet was nominated Bishop of Meaux, and Meaux seemed likely to become the centre of reform without revolution. Briçonnet was enthusiastic, mystical, and practical, and drew around him Lefèvre and a group known as the Group or Coenaculum of Meaux. Lefèvre composed a translation of the New Testament, the bishop compelled priests to reside in

their parishes, and established thirty preaching stations to which he sent young men penetrated with the new teaching. The king's sister, Margaret of Angoulême (d. 1549), put herself into contact with the good men of Meaux. She was a hearer of Lefèvre and corresponded with Briçonnet. She had imbibed the Platonism of Ficino and Nicholas of Cusa, and she learned Latin, Italian, Spanish, Greek, and Hebrew. More poetic than dogmatic, she has expressed her religious belief in her verses. A gentle spirit, she cannot be called a creator of the moral and intellectual life of her time: she reflected it; and there is a certain unity in her religious ideas which suggests to us the point at which French reform might have paused before becoming Protestant.

At the period of the Renaissance, Germany and Flanders, which were in close political and social relations with each other, were remarkable for the wealth and culture of their cities. Nuremberg, Augsburg, and Mainz, Bruges, Ghent, and Louvain, to mention no others, were in contact with the trade of a large part of Europe. The citizens built florid and beautiful churches and town halls. Music was fostered, and artists such as the Van Eycks, Roger van der Weyden, and Memling created works in which realism and mysticism met together. The more strictly intellectual life was not neglected. Although Germany produced few great writers, it produced genuine thinkers, and the spirit of invention displayed itself in the art of printing and in the progress of astronomy. No less than nine universities were founded in Germany between 1456 and 1506, and almost every city of importance possessed some resident scholar of distinction.

The godless character of the Italian Renaissance did little to recommend its first representatives who arrived in Germany. But humanism soon began to strike its roots into German soil, first in the Latin schools, then in the universities. Its form was Christian and conservative. Rudolf Agricola (d. 1485) trained in Louvain and Paris, was a man of light and leading at Heidelberg, and his work was carried on at Deventer by Hegius and other disciples. The Universities of Erfurt, Tübingen, and Ingolstadt quickly opened their doors to humanism. Nuremberg,

which was almost a German Florence, had a warm patron of the new learning in the patrician citizen Pirkheimer. He and others like Wimpheling, the scholar of Speier, and Trithemius, the Benedictine abbot, never left the Church in which they had been reared; nor did Ulrich von Hutten, the knight-errant of the revival of letters, who fought with sword and with pen, and died in poverty on an island in the lake of Zürich. But they helped to make Germany stir with an intellectual life which foreshadowed a change in religion.

The greatest German humanist at the beginning of the sixteenth century was Johann Reuchlin (d. 1522), a man of learning and the pioneer of Hebrew studies. He became, without intending it, the cause of a controversy which enlisted the greater part of Germany in a revolt against the Church. In 1509 a converted Jew, Johann Pfefferkorn, obtained an edict from Maximilian empowering him to confiscate Hebrew books on the ground that they hindered Jews from embracing the Christian faith. Reuchlin was one of the referees appointed to report to the emperor as to whether all Hebrew books, except the Old Testament, ought to be burnt. He produced a discriminating memoir in which he advised that, with the exception of two books, the Jews' books should not be burnt, that Hebrew literature should be studied and the Jews gently brought over to the faith. A sharp controversy ensued between Pfefferkorn and Reuchlin; the latter appealed to the Pope and he was acquitted of heresy by a commission which met at Speier in 1514. But behind Pfefferkorn were the Dominicans of Cologne and the inquisitor Hoogstraten, and their power at Rome was such that Pope Leo X issued a mandate which imposed silence on both parties and quashed the decision of Speier. The bigots therefore gained a semi-success and a semi-condemnation at Rome; but they suffered a severe defeat in Germany. Reuchlin had met his opponents by publishing a volume of letters addressed to him by his learned admirers under the title of *Clarorum Virorum Epistolae*. This suggested to the wits of the new learning the idea of ridiculing the theologians by a collection of letters called *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*. They were composed in the circle of Mutianus Rufus, canon of Gotha. Written in a parody of monkish Latin, and sometimes as coarse as they

were flippant, they were greeted with ecstatic applause and caused monastic learning to be treated as a farce.

But the strength of northern humanism was not in the humorists but in Desiderius Erasmus (d. 1536). He has fitly been called 'the king of the humanists', and he used his learning in the service of Church reform. He had been educated by the Brothers of the Common Life in Holland, he had entered a monastery in 1491, but was relieved from monastic rules by the Bishop of Cambrai, and he visited England in 1497. He travelled in order to study, and was familiar with Paris and Rome, Bologna and Florence. He corrected the press for Aldus at Venice; he learned Greek at Oxford and taught it at Cambridge; and later he settled at Basel. No one of his period, and no one since his period, enjoyed so great a literary reputation. His *Praise of Folly*, his *Adages*, and his *Colloquies* had an immense circulation, his spontaneous and satirical Latin being of unrivalled vigour. His services to theology were as great as his services to the classical revival. In 1505 he republished the notes on the New Testament by Lorenzo Valla. In 1516 he published the New Testament in Greek with a Latin version, and he superintended the publication of the writings of several Fathers of the Church. He has been called indifferent in matters of religion; but the charge cannot be sustained. He remained in the Church, righteously discontented but not rebellious, hoping that reform would come with a study of the unadulterated records of early Christianity. His mind was too implacable towards the Schoolmen, and his ardour for doctrinal simplicity was not compatible with an appreciation of philosophy. But Erasmus remains in the first rank of the men who have aspired to unite reasonableness with religion, culture with Christianity.

The Englishmen John Colet and Sir Thomas More are more than worthy to be placed beside Reuchlin and Erasmus. Their enthusiasm for the new learning was united with Catholic devotion, unsullied by cynicism or disloyalty.

John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, was born in London in or near 1467. He was the son of Sir Henry Colet, who was twice Lord Mayor of London, and he was educated in Oxford.

After he had taken the degree of Master of Arts he enlarged his mind by visiting Paris and Italy, where he first met Erasmus. He returned to England, was ordained priest, and resided in Oxford, where he gave Latin lectures on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. They attracted much attention, being free from scholastic methods of exegesis and coloured with the Platonism of Ficino and Pico della Mirandola. This taste for Platonism was allied with his respect for the works attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, under the influence of which he wrote a book on the Sacraments of the Church and another on the Composition of the Holy Mystical Body of Christ. He afterwards became convinced, like all modern scholars, that the so-called Dionysian writings are not works of primitive antiquity, but they strengthened his desire for ecclesiastical reform. He also wrote letters on the six days of creation, in which he interpreted the first chapters of Genesis as allegorical, an interpretation which is not absent from the writings of certain Fathers, including even Athanasius.

He was made Dean of St. Paul's in 1505 and continued to lecture on the New Testament. The wealth which he inherited from his father now enabled him to carry out his darling project —the foundation of a great school for the free teaching of one hundred and fifty-three poor children. The building was completed in 1510 and named St. Paul's School. Fitzjames, the Bishop of London, was suspicious of his teaching and his educational methods, and cited him for heresy before Archbishop Warham, who dismissed the charge. He continued to be quite outspoken in criticizing abuses in Church and State. In 1512, when preaching before Convocation, he eloquently deplored the evil of the Church being conformed to the world, and the next year denounced the evils of war in a sermon before Henry VIII. In 1514 he visited the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury in company with Erasmus, who describes his companion under the name of Gratianus Pullus, and represents him as having little respect for musty relics. That year he prepared to retire among the Carthusians of Sheen. Worn out by the 'sweating sickness' he died in 1519. In simplicity of life he practised what he preached. Neither a great scholar nor a great theologian, he was a great Christian who passionately desired to

make the Bible understood, and saw the importance of studying the Christianity of early days.

Sir Thomas More (1478–1535), Lord Chancellor of England, was one of the greatest representatives of this period of transition and was in a special sense its martyr. Like Colet, he was a Londoner by birth and an Oxonian by education. At the age of twenty-one he was, like many other young men, filled with an ascetic fervour which prompted him to become a priest; but he decided otherwise without abandoning his strong Christian faith. He lectured on St. Augustine at St. Lawrence Jewry in the City, and powerfully advocated the study of Greek. In 1516 he published his *Utopia*, the picture of an ideal commonwealth, implying a criticism of the evils of the day, and a plea for the widest toleration in matters of religion. Brilliant and upright as a lawyer, he steadily advanced in his profession; he became Speaker of the House of Commons, and in 1529 Lord Chancellor. Henry VIII was fully conscious of his attractive character and rare ability, and professed for More a friendship which More perceived to be inspired by cunning rather than affection. He assisted the king in his book against Luther, and himself sternly enforced the laws against heretics in spite of the views advocated in *Utopia*. He regarded the Pope's jurisdiction, which was interwoven with the canon law, as essential to the Catholic system, and he therefore came into conflict with the king when Henry married Anne Boleyn. He refused to attend the wedding. He refused to take the oath which required fidelity to Anne's issue, and he would not renounce the Pope. He was committed to the Tower, where he wrote a beautiful *Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation*. Charged with high treason, he refused to accept the Act of Supremacy, and he was beheaded on Tower Hill on July the 6th, 1535, after telling the people that he died 'in and for the faith of the Catholic Church'.

There is a touch of paradox in the fact that the memory of a man so keen in advocating practical reforms is linked with the word utopian, which has entered into the English language to describe political ideas which are too optimistic to be practicable. His Christian courage remains as a virtue to be admired and imitated in every age.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the Church remained still powerful and majestic. It was not merely something that appealed to Schoolmen and theologians. It was throughout western and central Europe the only possible Church. The one country which might be called Protestant was Bohemia, and Bohemia was torn with strife within and without. Though the Papacy had become more political than religious, and more commercial than political, we must remember that by this time the conception of a papacy uncontaminated by nepotism and rapacity was virtually extinct in the minds of the people. The Church was the mother and guide of mankind, and the mismanagement of her affairs had not very widely shaken confidence in her authority. The clergy and the monks touched every class of society, and numerous new churches and charitable institutions proved how closely the life of the people was linked with the observances of religion. Small reforms, chiefly affecting the religious orders, had been carried out with good results. But attempts to reform the Popes and papal government had proved feeble and futile, and ordinary people were not stirred by the learned doctors who wished for a constitutional limitation of papal jurisdiction. A new religious idea of overwhelming strength, intelligible to the masses, was needed if a radical change was to be effected, an idea which would gather around it something from all the social and intellectual movements of the time. That idea was manifested in Luther's presentation of St. Paul's doctrine of faith in Christ.

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P. = Pope
patr. = Patriarch
abp. = Archbishop
bp. = Bishop

Emp. = Emperor
Cp. = Constantinople
Al. = Alexandria
Ant. = Antioch

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